DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 430 919 SO 028 799

AUTHOR	Lhowe, Mary, Ed.
TITLE	Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era. Revised. Choices for the 21st Century.
INSTITUTION	Brown Univ., Providence, RI. Thomas J. Watson, Jr. Inst. for International Studies.
SPONS AGENCY	Pew Charitable Trusts, Philadelphia, PA.
PUB DATE	1996-08-00
NOTE	86p.
AVAILABLE FROM	Choices Education Project, Watson Institute for International Studies, Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI, 02912 ($12).
PUB TYPE	Guides - Non-Classroom (055)
EDRS PRICE	EDRS Price MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Developing Nations; Diplomatic History; Foreign Countries; *Foreign Policy; Futures (Of Society); Global Approach; Instructional Materials; *International Relations; National Security; Peace; Political Science; Secondary Education; Social Studies; *World Affairs; World History
IDENTIFIERS	*Russia

ABSTRACT

This unit is part of a continuing series on current foreign policy issues. The first section asks students to consider Russia's future as if they were Russian. Background readings provide information to help students address policy issues and include: (1) "Lessons from Russia's Past"; and (2) "Exploring the New Russia." Once students have discussed background issues they are faced with the policy options: (1) "Strength in Unity"; (2) "Proceed with Caution"; and (3) "Look Outward." The second section asks students to see the world through Russian eyes and to contemplate Russian choices in the areas of economic development, political organization, and foreign policy. The core of the section offers three distinct directions, or futures, for Russia in the coming years. Each future is grounded in a clearly defined philosophy about Russia's place in the world and offers broad guidelines on fundamental public policy issues in Russia. The background reading prepares students to assess Russia's policy choices. Part 1 surveys four key periods of reform in Russian history, ranging from the reign of Peter the Great to the Gorbachev era. Part 2 reviews the momentous changes that have taken place in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union, focusing in particular on new political thinking, economic reform, and Russia's evolving international relations. The unit involves role playing as well as policy research and debate. (Contains supplementary documents and suggests readings at the end of section 1.) (EH)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 420 579

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.
Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

S. Graseck

2A

CHOICES FOR THE 21st CENTURY

Charting Russia's Future In The Post-Soviet Era

SO 028 799

ALTERNATIVES FOR PUBLIC DEBATE AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT

A program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies

Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912

Acknowledgments

Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project staff with the assistance of the research staff of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and several other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input:

Deana Arsenian, *Assistant Director, Watson Institute*

Douglas W. Blum, *Associate Professor of Political Science*
Providence College

Mark Garrison, *Former Director*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

Abbott Gleason, *Professor of History*
Brown University

Leonid Kistersky, *E. L. Wiegand Distinguished Visiting Professor*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Senior Visiting Scholar*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

Mark Kramer, *Research Associate*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

William Rose, *Associate Professor of Political Science*
Connecticut College

Robert Seely, *Visiting Fellow in International Studies*
Watson Institute

Stephen Shenfield, *Research Associate*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

Richard Smoke, *Research Director*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

To Mary Lhowe, editorial associate at the Watson Institute, we extend additional thanks for editing this curriculum unit.

Special thanks also to the high school teachers who tested drafts of this material in their classrooms prior to publication: Don Bakker of North Eastham, Massachusetts; Candace Fisk of Springfield, Missouri; and David Weiss of Rockville Centre, New York.

Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era is part of a continuing series on current foreign policy issues. A new unit is published every three months during the academic year.

CHOICES

for the 21st Century Education Project

August 1996

Director
Susan Graseck

Curriculum Developer
Mark Malkasian

Director of School Programs
Patricia Keenan-Byrne

Coordinator of Library Program
Megan Secatore

Program Associate
Lucy Mueller

Staff Associate
Anne Campau Prout

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula for high schools and colleges on current foreign policy issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the **Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies** at Brown University.

Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

Contents

Part I: Lessons from Russia's Past	**1**
Part II: Exploring the New Russia	**10**
Futures in Brief	**22**
Futures	**23-28**
Future 1: Strength in Unity	**23**
Future 2: Proceed with Caution	**25**
Future 3: Look Outward	**27**
Focusing Your Thoughts	**29**
Supplementary Documents	**30**
Suggested Reading	**46**

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. Choices was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to studying global problems and developing international initiatives to benefit society.

© Copyright January 1994. Revised August 1996. Choices for the 21st Century Education Project. All rights reserved. Permission is granted to duplicate and distribute for classroom use with appropriate credit given. Copies may be ordered at $12.00 each. Address orders to: Choices Education Project, Watson Institute for International Studies, Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912.

RUSSIA
North Sea
Arctic Ocean
Laptev Sea
Bering Sea
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
Norway
Denmark
Sweden
Germany
Baltic Sea
Finland
Poland
Lithuania
Latvia
Estonia
St. Petersburg
Archangelsk
Belarus
Smolensk
Ivanovo
Moscow
Nizhniy Novgorod
Moldova
Kursk
Voronezh
Ukraine
Perm
Ural Mountains
Siberia
Yakutsk
Magadan
Sea of Okhotsk
Samara
Yekaterinburg
Rostov
Volgograd
Magnitogorsk
Tomsk
Krasnoyarsk
Lake Baikal
Omsk
Novosibirsk
Chita
Irkutsk
Black Sea
Georgia
Turkey
Armenia
Azerbaijan
Caspian Sea
Kazakstan
Aral Sea
Vladivostock
Japan
North Korea
South Korea
Mongolia
Iraq
Turkmenistan
Uzbekistan
Kyrgyzstan
Iran
Tajikistan
China
Afghanistan

Part I: Lessons from Russia's Past

In the center of Moscow, the capital of Russia, more than 2,500 workers are laboring in shifts twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week to rebuild what was once the largest church in the Russian empire.

When it is completed around the year 2000, the Cathedral of Christ the Savior will restore an important link to the Russian past. The cathedral was originally erected to commemorate Russia's defeat of Napoleon's invading army in 1812. Under communism, Josef Stalin destroyed the church in 1931, when Moscow was the capital of the Soviet Union.

At the time, Stalin intended to construct a monumental "Palace of the Soviets" on the site of the cathedral. The architectural plans envisioned a structure taller than the Empire State Building, crowned by a huge statue of Vladimir I. Lenin, the founder of the Soviet Union.

The communist state that Lenin and Stalin established represented a sharp break with Russia's traditions. The Soviet system promised to eventually create a paradise on earth, where humanity's needs would be answered through careful government planning. Religious belief was officially replaced by atheism. Society was tightly controlled by the Communist Party. By the time the Soviet Union collapsed at the end of 1991, little was left of the communist dream.

The new cathedral that is today climbing into the Moscow skyline reflects the extraordinary changes that Russia has experienced in recent years. The outward structure of communist authority is gone. The state-run economic system dominated by party officials has largely disintegrated. The belief among the Russian people that communism held the promise of a better future has crumbled. Even the fifteen republics that formed the Soviet Union — of which Russia was by far the largest — have each become independent states.

But while the Soviet order has been shattered, the Russian people have yet to break completely free of communism's hold. The cathedral illustrates the confusion surrounding Russia's identity. Some see the church as a rebirth of the Russian soul. Others view the project as a symbol of state power. Still others consider it a waste of money in a country suffering from economic hardship. There is one point of consensus: Russians agree that the cathedral is going up at a historical juncture for their country.

Russia in transition

For nearly three centuries, Russians have occupied a central role on the world stage. Their vast land, nearly twice the size of the United States, contains many of the world's most important natural resources. Russia has produced giants in the sciences, music, literature, and other fields. The Russian army, a formidable force as early as the 18th century, today is second in power only to the U.S. military. Moreover, Russia's huge nuclear arsenal places an awesome responsibility in the hands of Russian leaders.

Russia at a Glance

Area:	6,592,800 square miles
Arable land:	8%
Population:	150 million
Life expectancy at birth:	57 male, 71 female
Per capita gross national product:	$4,820
Telephone lines per 1,000 people:	163
Motor vehicles per 1,000 people:	73

Russians have long seen themselves as occupying a special place in the world. The tsars (a word that comes from the Roman title of caesar) who ruled Russia for nearly five centuries before communism were imbued with a sense of mission. Russian Orthodox Christianity and the expansion of the Russian empire over much of Eurasia gave Russians a feeling of uniqueness. In the 16th and 17th centuries, they often referred to their country as the "third Rome," believing that the torch of spiritual leadership for the Christian world had been passed to Russia from Rome and Constantinople.

Communism represented a rejection of Christianity, but in many respects it took on the form of a religion. Under Soviet rule, Russians presented the communist system to the peoples of the world as an alternative to the societies of the United States, Britain, France, and other countries of the West.

With the collapse of Soviet communism and the break-up of the Soviet Union, Russians have been left to chart a new course for their country. Russian reformers had originally hoped that Russia would be able to make a quick, clean break with the past. Instead, attitudes from the Soviet, and even tsarist, era have remained strong. Today's Russia is an uneasy mix of new and old, hope and despair.

Your assignment

In this unit, you will be asked to step into Russian shoes and consider Russia's future. You will be confronted with the same questions that the people of Russia are now debating: What principles should guide the development of Russia's economy? What political system is best for Russia? What role should Russia play in international affairs?

To prepare for the challenge ahead, you will begin with a brief survey of Russian history, focusing in particular on past efforts to change Russian society. Russians place much more importance on history than do most Americans. For them, Russian history is closely connected to both their individual identity and their image of Russia as a nation. Interpreting the past is a stepping-stone to thinking about the future.

The second part of the background reading deals with the events that have occurred since the Soviet Union came to an end on December 31, 1991. Under President Boris Yeltsin, Russia has entered a new, unpredictable era. In this section, you will learn how Russia has changed in terms of its economic development, political thinking, and international relations.

Russia's Historical Legacy

The history of modern Russia can be divided into two main segments: the tsarist period that stretched from the 15th century to 1917 and the Soviet era that began in 1917 and continued until 1991. Sandwiched between these two epochs was a short, unsuccessful attempt to fashion a democracy in 1917 after the fall of Tsar Nicholas II and before Lenin seized power in the Bolshevik Revolution.

When Russians look backward today, they often have mixed feelings about what elements of the past should be preserved. Almost everyone agrees that the worst features of communism — the prison camps and the secret police, for example — should be buried once and for all. But at the same time many people long for the guaranteed employment, free health care, low-rent housing, and predictable order of the Soviet system.

Similarly, the tsarist period evokes differing opinions. For some, the values embodied by the tsar, the Russian Orthodox Church, and the empire are revered. For others, the tsarist period is a symbol of authoritarianism and backwardness.

Finally, the short-lived democratic regime of 1917 presents another set of questions. The government led by Alexander Kerensky sought to transform Russia into a Western-style parliamentary democracy. However, Kerensky's failure to build political support for his reform program, as well as the difficulties caused by World War I, doomed the young democracy. Many Russians draw a parallel between the reform government of 1917 and the disappointments connected to the democratization of today's Russia. They ask why democracy lasted only seven months in 1917, and debate whether history is likely to repeat itself.

Authoritarian traditions

Whatever their political convictions, Russians recognize that their country lacks a tradition of democracy. From tsarist times, Russia has been led by rulers who enjoyed virtually unlimited power. Individual rights, the freedom of expression, and other democratic principles had little meaning in tsarist Russia and the Soviet Union. In addition, the Soviets destroyed the concept of private property and elevated the power of the state to new heights.

Historically, reform in Russia came from the top. The force that drove previous attempts at change was the desire to strengthen the state, often in the face of an external foe. Tsarist and Soviet rulers also sought to fend off threats to their authority as democratic values gained wide acceptance outside of Russia. The history of reform in Russia — both its accomplishments and its failures — is now being studied intently by Russians weighing their country's options for the future.

Peter the Great

Tsar Peter I (1682-1725), known as Peter the Great, was the first important modernizer in Russian history. Peter I inherited a state that stretched from near the shores of the Baltic Sea to the Pacific Ocean. His vast domain, however, was largely cut off from the scientific and political revolutions underway in Europe at the time. During a tour of Western Europe in 1697-98, Peter I was exposed to the technological advances of his distant neighbors. He returned to Russia and launched a sweeping effort to remake his country along European lines.

Peter I concentrated on the military, reorganizing the army and creating a navy. New industries were established to supply the needs of the military. After acquiring territory along the Baltic Sea in a war against Sweden, the tsar built a new capital at St. Petersburg — Russia's "window on the West." Peter I even taxed noblemen who refused to shave their beards and adopt a more European appearance.

> *Having ensured the security of the state against the enemy, it is requisite to endeavor to win glory for it by means of the arts and sciences.*
>
> *—Peter the Great*

Russians today recall Peter the Great as the tsar who thrust Russia into the center of European affairs. With a modern military, Russia was destined to rank among the leading European powers. The tsar's efforts to open his country to the West continue to have significance for Russia today.

Russians have long suffered from an inferiority complex with respect to the West. For much of its history, Russia has been on the margins of European civilization. When the Renaissance was dawning in Western Europe in the 15th century, Russians were still struggling to reclaim their land from Mongol invaders. While the foundations of modern Western science were being laid in the 17th century, Russia was gripped by political chaos and close-minded religious zeal.

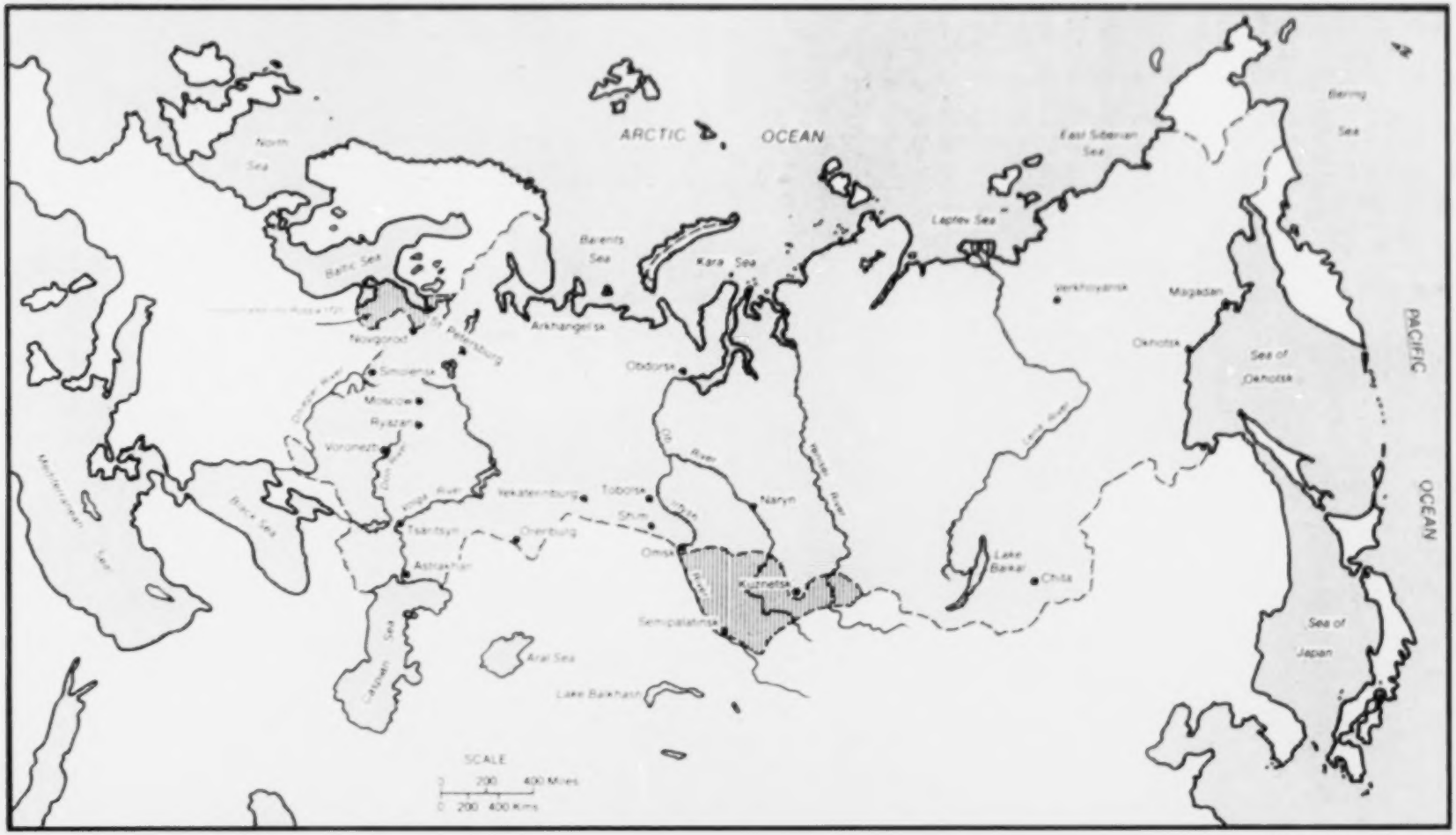
Geography has reinforced the Russian sense of isolation. Much of Russia is cold and inhospitable, far removed from the Atlantic Ocean currents that warm Western Europe. Moscow, for example, lies on the same latitude as the Hudson Bay and is blanketed in snow for nearly six months of the year. With the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Russia's current borders do not extend much beyond those that prevailed during the early reign of Peter the Great, and once again are far removed from Western Europe.

Peter the Great is remembered especially fondly by Russians who value their country's great role in the international arena. In the name of modernization, however, Peter I substantially increased the power of the state and ruthlessly crushed his enemies.

Reprinted from *The Horizon History of Russia*

This 300-year-old woodcut shows Peter I cutting the beard of a nobleman.

Russia's Expansion under Peter the Great



Russia before 1689

Territory gained from 1689 to 1725

Reprinted from Historical Maps on File

Alexander II

Tsar Alexander II (1855-81) is best known for his decision to free Russia's serfs in 1861. He also took the first steps toward establishing the rule of law in the Russian empire.

Alexander II came to power at a time when economic pressure and social unrest were growing. Many of his advisers believed that Russia was rapidly falling behind the industrializing countries of the West. The inept performance of Russia's army against British and French forces during the Crimean War of 1853-56 served to illustrate their concerns. They convinced the tsar that the system of serfdom was a root cause of Russia's backwardness.

Like feudalism in Europe, Russian serfdom had deep roots. Beginning in the 16th and 17th centuries, Russian peasants were obligated to work the estates of landowning nobles. But whereas the underpinnings of feudalism broke down in much of Europe in the 17th and 18th centuries, serfdom in Russia became more entrenched. By the 1800s, Russian serfs were virtual slaves. They could be bought and sold, moved from one estate to another, and were barred from owning land. Many Russian landowners, however, were increasingly unable to afford caring for the serfs under their control. Moreover, Russian army officers complained that serfs made poor soldiers.

Alexander II's order to free the serfs did little to immediately improve the lives of Russian peasants. The emancipated serfs were subject to new taxes, and in most cases remained tied to the land. Freeing the serfs, however, created a new class of small farmers and opened the door to other important reforms by Alexander II.

> *It is better to abolish serfdom from above than to await the time when it will begin to abolish itself from below.*
>
> —*Alexander II*

Under Alexander II, elected assemblies were permitted at the local level to address issues such as road maintenance, irrigation, and taxation. Although by Western standards the power of the local councils was meager, for Russia the councils represented a significant departure from the absolute authority of the tsar. In addition, Alexander II introduced jury trials and decreed that all citizens should receive equal treatment before the law.

The Tsar Liberator, as Alexander II came to be known, was willing to relinquish some of his authority to help modernize Russia. At the same time, he was working to undercut the appeal of new political philosophies that were emerging in Russia during the 1800s.

In the decades before Alexander II's reign, two important intellectual movements had emerged in Russia. On one side were the Slavophiles — a group that identified closely with Russia's ethnic Slavic roots. The Slavophiles believed that their country should be built on the traditional values of the Russian village and the Russian Orthodox Church. They called on Russia to turn its back on new programs for political and economic reform circulating in Europe.

The other group, the Westernizers, wanted Russia to join the tide of change sweeping Europe. They viewed Russian tradition as a barrier to progress. During the later years of Alexander II's rule, many Westernizers favored the creation of a liberal democracy along the lines of the systems that existed in Britain and the United States.

Meanwhile, political currents in Europe inspired more radical movements for change in Russia. Russian socialists, for instance, sought to overthrow the authority of the tsar and the church. Many of them looked to Russia's downtrodden peasants to ignite revolution and redistribute the land. When few peasants responded to the call for revolution, radical movements often turned to violence to challenge the government. In 1881, a revolutionary terrorist killed Alexander II (and himself) with a homemade hand grenade. In response to his father's assassination, Alexander III began his reign by launching a harsh crackdown against political activity in Russia.

Alexander II is remembered today by his admirers as the first Russian ruler to try to put Russia on the path toward democracy. The severe repression that followed his reforms, however, has led many to question Russia's capacity, both then and now, for peaceful reform.

Nicholas II

Tsar Nicholas II (1894-1917) was a reluctant reformer. Like his father, Alexander III, Nicholas II relied heavily on the secret police and heavy-handed tactics to maintain order. Two events, however, forced the tsar to accept the need for change.

In 1905, the Russian navy suffered a humiliating defeat against Japan in a battle over dominance in the Sea of Japan. While the Russo-Japanese War continued on land in 1905, political unrest broke out in Russia. The Revolution of 1905, as the turmoil came to be known, did not subside until Nicholas II announced major political reforms.

To satisfy his democratic critics, Nicholas II created a representative assembly, or Duma, and pledged that basic civil rights would be protected. In measures that went well beyond those of Alexander II, the tsar conceded that he would share power with elected officials. Elections in 1906, however, produced a legislature that supported rapid democratic reform. The tsar responded by dissolving the first Duma, then the second, and finally changing the electoral laws. The third Duma, elected in 1907, was more conservative, and Nicholas II adopted some of the legislature's moderate recommendations for reform.

The period from 1905 to 1914 (the year Russia entered World War I) has particular relevance for Russia today. Among those Russians who find hope for democratic progress in Russia's past, the 1905-14 period represents an era of promise. They note that Russia at the time was experiencing the most rapid industrial growth in Europe and that democratic institutions such as a free press and political parties were gaining acceptance.

> *We must avoid taking too great strides. We should find ourselves, later, close to being a democratic republic. That would be senseless and criminal.*
>
> —*Nicholas II*

In fact, many of Nicholas II's advisers believed that Russia was in a race against time in the years before World War I. In the area of defense and foreign policy, the Russo-Japanese War had rekindled fears about Russia's vulnerability. Geography was Russia's main security problem. To the west, a broad plain offered invaders an unobstructed route into the Russian heartland. In 1812, Napoleon had led his army all the way to Moscow before being forced back by the Russian winter. Likewise, German generals in the early 1900s were expected to take advantage of Russia's lack of natural defenses if war should break out. In addition, Russia's access to the sea was limited. Russia's navy in the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea could easily be bottled up by an enemy, while Russian ports in the Arctic Ocean were frozen for much of the year. Nicholas II hoped that stepped-up industrialization and efforts to modernize the military would reduce Russia's vulnerability to attack.

The tsar's government was also racing to prevent a political and social explosion. The Duma, for example, had been founded largely to win over the tsar's democratic critics and undercut the appeal of revolutionaries. Perhaps more important were the agricultural reforms undertaken by the tsar's prime minister, Peter Stolypin.

Stolypin's goal was to create a class of prosperous, conservative small farmers, much like the families that worked the

Percentage of World Manufacturing Output

	1750	1800	1860	1900
Russia	5.0	5.6	7.0	8.8
Britain	1.9	4.3	19.9	18.5
France	4.0	4.2	7.9	6.8
Germany	2.9	3.5	4.9	13.2
U.S.	0.1	0.8	7.2	23.6

Russia's Expansion from 1855 to 1904

Russia before 1855

Territory gained from 1855 to 1904

Reprinted from Historical Maps on File

land in France and the United States. To achieve his aim, Stolypin sought to break up the village communes in which peasants held land collectively. Stolypin blamed the collectivist mentality for stifling individual initiative. Stolypin also allowed peasants to buy state-owned land and established a special bank to loan them money for equipment, seeds, and other farming needs. Stolypin was assassinated in 1911 while attending an opera with the tsar. The assassin was later discovered to be a double agent.

For Russians today, Stolypin's assassination symbolizes the contradictions of the 1905-14 period. On the one hand, advocates of cautious, gradual reform take heart in the robust economic growth and the fledgling democratic institutions that marked the era. On the other hand, those who question the value of the era's reforms see the 1905-14 period as merely another cycle of violence and repression in Russian history.

Mikhail Gorbachev

Between 1914 and the time Mikhail Gorbachev (1985-91) came to power, Russia had experienced World War I, a civil war, the imposition of communism, World War II, and years of economic stagnation. Decades of suffering and communist repression had left the Russian people weary and cynical. Whatever hopes had been placed in the Bolshevik Revolution had long since evaporated.

Gorbachev, the youngest Soviet leader since the 1920s, felt the weight of the past as he developed a plan for reform. Like many other Soviet officials of his generation, Gorbachev acknowledged that his country's economy was stalled, especially in the high-tech areas that were essential to the strength of the Soviet military. If the Soviet Union was to keep up with its Cold War rival, the United States, and maintain its superpower status, serious economic reform would have to take place. But while Gorbachev favored shaking up the economy, he did not want to topple the communist system that had been built by Soviet leaders over many decades.

Gorbachev's most difficult task involved breaking the hold of Josef Stalin over the Soviet people. Stalin (1924-53) had been the chief architect of the Soviet system. He believed that the Soviet Union had to industrialize at all costs in order to defend communism against the capitalist countries of the West. To achieve his goals, Stalin fashioned a "command economy." Under his rule, government planners in Moscow sought to control all aspects of economic activity and to direct the distribution of goods for the whole country.

Stalin succeeded in making the Soviet Union into an industrial giant. By the time of his death, the Soviet economy was second in size only to that of the United States. Soviet industrial might helped the Soviets defeat Nazi Germany in World War II. The struggle, known in the Soviet Union as the Great Patriotic War, left roughly 27 million Soviets dead. The enormous wartime sacrifices were hailed by Stalin and his successors as a tribute to the Soviet system and the solidarity of the Russian people.

Likewise, Soviet industrialization was accomplished at a staggering human cost. At least 10 million Soviets died under Stalin's regime. Peasants suffered the most. Stalin's policies forced them to give up their land and join huge state-run farms. In addition, peasant traditions were smashed and the Russian Orthodox Church was deprived of its authority. Although Soviet leaders Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev ended Stalin's reign of terror, they did little to alter the command economy.

Gorbachev took a bolder approach. Under Gorbachev's program of perestroika (restructuring), Moscow's control of the Soviet economy was loosened. Gorbachev held that enterprises should be responsible for holding down costs and responding to consumer demand, rather than relying on government subsidies. Factory managers and farm directors were given greater decision-making power. Small-scale private and cooperative businesses were legalized. The Soviet Union also became more open to foreign investment. Gorbachev hoped that the introduction of Western technology and free-market forces would spur the Soviet economy forward.

Perestroika, however, was a halfway measure. Gorbachev feared that lifting price controls and taking other measures to create a free-market economy would undermine the authority of the Communist Party and turn people against the Soviet system. He also balked

at recognizing the institution of private property.

In addition to tackling economic reform, Gorbachev liberalized the Soviet political system. His policy of glasnost (openness) allowed greater freedom of expression. Public attention was soon drawn to the Soviet Union's many problems: government corruption, environmental pollution, economic inefficiency, etc. Glasnost also gave the Soviet Union's many nationalities an opportunity to air their grievances, and reopened discussion about the horrors committed by the Stalin regime.

Together, perestroika and glasnost ate away at the legitimacy of the Soviet state. Instead of sparking initiative, perestroika contributed to a breakdown of the framework that held together the Soviet command economy. By 1990, the economy was in a tailspin. The country's gross national product (GNP) fell 8 percent that year. The next year, it dropped 19 percent. Meanwhile, the problems and injustices exposed under glasnost undercut the authority of the Communist Party. Particularly in the Soviet Union's fourteen non-Russian republics, movements arose to reduce the power of the central government in Moscow.

Gorbachev's foreign policy deepened the divisions among the people of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev set out to settle the Cold War between the Soviet Union and the United States that had begun in the late 1940s. He initiated agreements on nuclear arms control with the United States and encouraged foreign investment in his country. In 1989, Gorbachev did not intervene when popular movements in Eastern Europe toppled communist governments that had been dominated by Moscow since the end of World War II. In 1990, Gorbachev reluctantly gave his assent to the reunification of West Germany and East Germany.

While the international changes brought by Gorbachev's policies were hailed abroad, Gorbachev received mixed reviews in the Soviet Union. Many Soviets, especially the younger generation, supported his efforts to open up the country to the West. In everything from science and computers to music and fashion, they looked forward to learning more about the interests and tastes of their counterparts in Paris, Tokyo, and Los Angeles. Others, particularly those who remembered World War II, believed that Gorbachev had surrendered their country's national honor to the West. The loss of Moscow's satellites in Eastern Europe was seen by many as a heavy blow to Soviet security. Moreover, the overthrow of communist regimes in Eastern Europe inspired nationalities in the Soviet Union seeking to break free of Moscow. By the end of 1991, Gorbachev had few allies in his effort to hold the Soviet Union together.

The failure of perestroika and glasnost have cast a long shadow over reform efforts today in Russia. Undeniably, many of the problems were connected with the short-sighted and poorly developed policies introduced by Gorbachev. But many Russians believe that there were much bigger obstacles to Gorbachev's success. Early in his leadership, Gorbachev himself emphasized that the Soviet people needed to break free of their dependence on the government. According to Gorbachev, Russians, and later Soviets, had been conditioned to look toward the "good tsar" to solve their problems. As a result, many had given up on their own creativity and initiative.

> *It is necessary to expunge from the people's minds a belief in the "good tsar," in the all-powerful center, in the assumption that someone at the top will impose order and organize change.*
>
> *—Mikhail Gorbachev*

The Gorbachev era also raised questions about other aspects of the Russian past. In launching his reform program, Gorbachev was taking aim at the remnants of totalitarianism still lingering from the days of Stalin. Under the totalitarian system, the state sought to control every aspect of life, from organizing youth groups to determining the content of movies and novels. While totalitarianism is usually associated with communism, and particularly with the Stalinist era, some Russians find the roots of totalitarianism in Russian history. They note that many of the worst features of Soviet totalitarianism — the secret police, restrictions on travel both inside and outside the country, the government-imposed isolation from foreign influences — had their origins under the tsars. Assuming their interpretation is correct, reform in today's Russia will require profound changes in society.

Part II: Exploring the New Russia

A new era in Russian history began on August 19, 1991, when Russian President Boris Yeltsin climbed on top of an armored personnel carrier in front of the Russian parliament to oppose a coup organized by hard-line communists.

Yeltsin called on Russians to launch a general strike and appealed to the military to turn against the coup plotters. Within three days of Yeltsin's appearance, the coup attempt collapsed.

Five years later, the memory of Yeltsin's courageous stand in the Russian capital had been all but washed away by successive waves of political and economic tumult. The events of August 1991 made Yeltsin a hero. By the fall of 1996, he had lost both his vigor and his popularity.

For many Russians, the weariness etched in Yeltsin's face reflects their own mood of doubt and uncertainty. Five years of rocky change have left the Russian people confused about their country's future. Economic reform has hurt more people than it has helped. Political divisions have repeatedly brought Russia to the brink of civil war. A rebellion in the southern border region of Chechnya has claimed more than 30,000 lives. Finally, Russia's fall from its position as international superpower has produced a widespread sense of humiliation and resentment.

The past five years, however, also contain signs of promise. Russia has held presidential and parliamentary elections that were judged to be relatively fair. Russian leaders claim that key sectors of the economy are recovering. They also note that the earlier doomsday forecasts of famine and anarchy have proven wrong. Rather, they emphasize that Russia has cleared the chief hurdles to stability and prosperity.

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, change in the new Russian state has advanced on three fronts. Politically, the Communist Party's monopoly on power has given way to the beginnings of a multi-party democracy.

Economically, Russia has moved away from the centrally planned economy. In the international arena, a new foreign policy has been crafted to address the loss of Russia's empire and superpower status.

Russia's identity crisis

The issues on Russia's national agenda have set off a wide-ranging debate among the Russian people about where their country should be heading. Americans, too, have faced important decisions in recent decades, but not since the Civil War has the United States been torn by fundamental questions about our country's national identity. As was discussed in Part I of the background reading, Russians have probed deep into their country's history to gain a better insight into their future choices. At the same time, they have heatedly debated the meaning of developments that have occurred since the fall of the Soviet Union.

In the following pages, you will learn about the new Russia. Three critical areas will be examined: the emergence of new political philosophies; the impact of economic change on Russian society; and Russia's international relations.

Democracy Russian Style

For more than seven decades, the Soviet Union was dominated by the Communist Party. Political opposition was not tolerated. In the final years of Mikhail Gorbachev's rule, however, the Communist Party's hold over society began to crumble. The failure of the August 1991 coup marked the end of the road for the one-party system. Boris Yeltsin, himself a former communist, stripped the Communist Party of its remaining privileges in the closing months of 1991.

The new Russian state began its life without a stable political system. Unlike the United States and other mature democracies, Russia lacks a tradition in which two or three well-established political parties compromise and share power. Rather, political competition in the new Russia has often revolved around clashes among well-known public figures. Rivalries have been bitter, even violent, with politicians often taking a winner-take-all approach to issues. Moreover, dozens of political parties have come and gone since the one-party rule of the communists ended. Most have been hampered by poor organization and a narrow base of popular support.

Election results

Russia's political system passed an important test in the summer of 1996. In Russia's first presidential elections since the collapse of the Soviet Union, Yeltsin was re-elected to a four-year term.

The elections fell short of Western standards of democracy. Yeltsin, for example, leaned heavily on the Russian media to promote his candidacy. Contributions from big companies connected to the government allowed Yeltsin to greatly outspend his rivals. Nonetheless, election observers agreed that there was little fraud in counting the ballots. Over two-thirds of the Russian electorate turned out to vote, and the results were accepted without violence.

The outcome of the presidential elections provides an insight into the concerns of Russian voters. Yeltsin and Gennady Zyuganov, the candidate of the Communist Party, led the field in the first round of balloting in June 1996. Yeltsin received 35 percent of the vote while Zyuganov won 32 percent. Third place went to a political newcomer, Alexander Lebed, a tough-talking former general who polled 15 percent of the vote. The most prominent democratic reformer, Grigory Yavlinsky, finished a disappointing fourth with 7 percent. Near the bottom was former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. He captured just 0.51 percent of the vote.

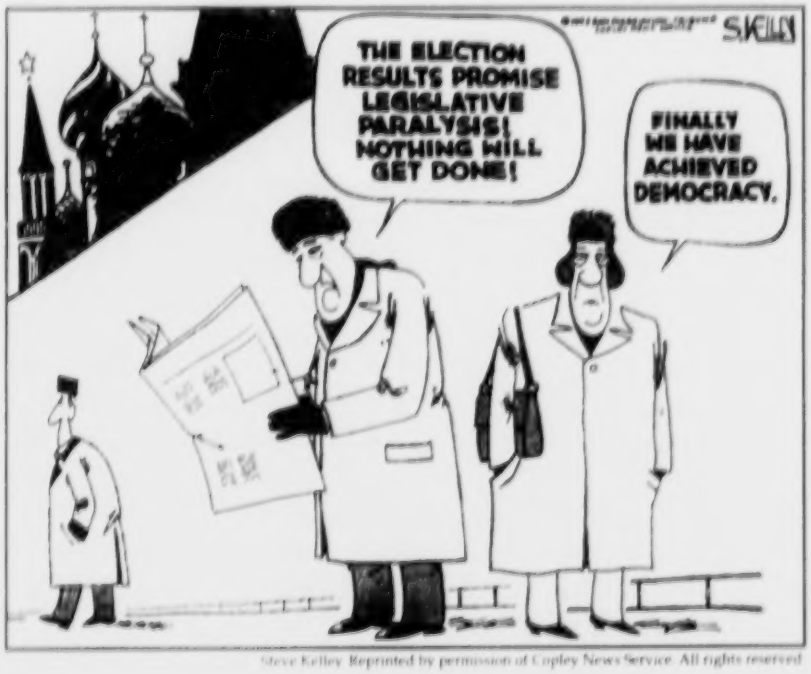
With the runoff election pitting Yeltsin against Zyuganov, the Russian president moved quickly to build bridges to his rivals. He named Lebed his national security adviser and won the endorsement of several other presidential candidates. When the decisive runoff was held in July 1996, Yeltsin easily topped Zyuganov, 54 to 40 percent.

Even Yeltsin's critics conceded that the president had staged a remarkable comeback. In December 1995, elections to Russia's parliament seemed to represent a sound rejection of Yeltsin's policies. Zyuganov's communists had been the big winners, gaining one-third of the seats in Russia's Duma, or lower house of parliament. The extreme nationalist Liberal Democratic Party finished with the second-highest vote totals, while the party closest to Yeltsin — Our Home is Russia — captured only 10 percent of the ballots.

Favorable media coverage and energetic campaigning accounted for much of Yeltsin's political recovery. Perhaps more important, however, was the president's willingness to spend government money to raise the spirits of the Russian electorate. In the months before the presidential elections, Yeltsin took steps to increase pensions to the elderly, give tax breaks to industry, and pay back wages to workers who had often gone for months without their salaries.

A political spectrum takes shape

A range of political positions has gradually emerged from the tumultuous first years of the new Russia's independence. At one end are the democratic reformers who pushed Russia toward the free-market system in 1992. They hope that Russia's political and economic system will come to resemble that of the West. The reformers have been widely blamed for their country's economic problems. Nonetheless, they believe that time is on their side. They expect their appeal to increase as a new generation learns to value



Steve Kelley. Reprinted by permission of Copley News Service. All rights reserved.

the principles of economic opportunity and individual freedom. Anatoly Chubais, Yeltsin's chief of staff, is the leading reformist voice in the Yeltsin administration.

The free-market reformers have met fierce opposition from communists and nationalists. The communists and nationalists are united by a conviction that Russia is unique. They often speak of their country's "sobornost" (meaning "spiritual unity") to distinguish Russian culture from what they see as the excessive individualism and materialism of the West.

The communists and nationalists believe that the break-up of the Soviet Union has brought Russia humiliation and disgrace. They contend that the reformers have sold out Russia to the West. They are especially angered by the decline in the country's industrial might, arguing that reform has made the economy dependent on exports of raw materials. The communists and nationalists have tapped into the popular backlash against economic change, especially among the elderly, workers, and other groups that have suffered under reform.

> *Russia is a special world...a special type of civilization...hostile in its soul to the West.*
>
> *—Gennady Zyuganov*

The platform of the nationalists and the communists concentrates on restoring Russia's power and prestige. They would sharply increase military spending and grant the central government greater authority to manage the country's resources. To achieve their goals, they favor reasserting Russian control over the former Soviet Union (FSU). Their chief focus is rebuilding the union among the Slavic peoples of Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and northern Kazakstan. In March 1996, they won overwhelming approval in the Duma for a resolution to restore the old Soviet Union.

The middle ground in Russian politics has been occupied by pragmatic moderates. Their chief objective is to promote economic reform in Russia over the long term, while maintaining order and stability. Above all, they want to prevent the chaos that Russia has experienced in past periods of political change. In foreign policy, the pragmatists have shown their readiness to defend Russian interests abroad, but have also been careful to avoid a confrontation with the West.

The pragmatists have rallied around Our Home is Russia and the party's main spokesman, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin. Our Home is Russia has gained the backing of government officials and business leaders. Many of Russia's new millionaires who support the party financially have themselves grown rich thanks to government tax and trade advantages.

War in Chechnya

The war in the break-away region of Chechnya has recast Russia's political landscape and left sharp divisions within the Yeltsin administration. Since the outbreak of fighting in December 1994, Chechen guerrilla fighters have repeatedly outmaneuvered Russia's 1.9 million-man army. In August 1996, Chechen forces drove Russian troops out of Grozny, Chechnya's capital, after a one-year lull in the conflict.

Shortly after joining the Yeltsin administration, Alexander Lebed reached a peace agreement with the Chechen leadership. He accused Russian army leaders of incompetence and corruption, and demanded the resignation of the interior minister. In turn, Russian military commanders in Chechnya openly defied Lebed's order that they observe a cease-fire in Grozny. In Moscow, top Russian officials, including Boris Yeltsin, voiced criticism of Lebed's efforts. Ordinary Russians were left to wonder who was in charge of their country.

> *A pauper country [Russia] with a weak economy cannot afford the luxury of fighting a war.*
>
> *—Alexander Lebed*

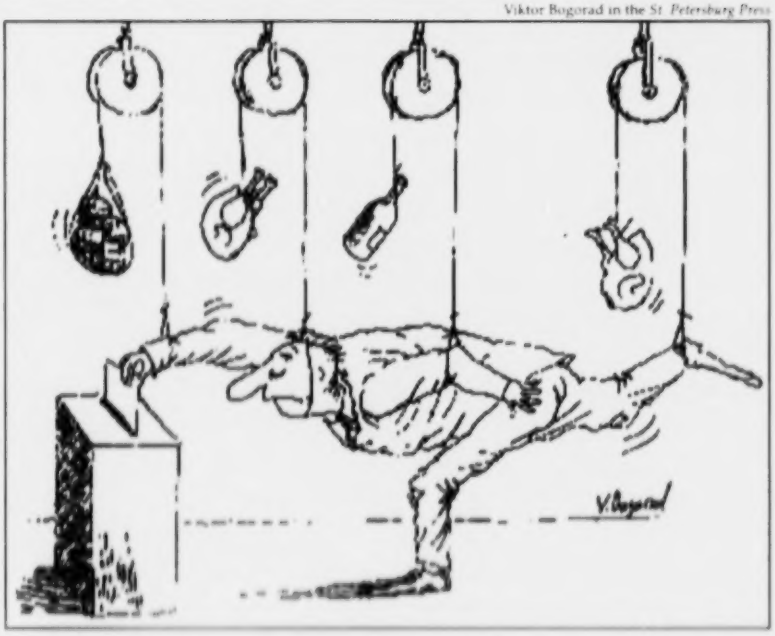
Under the agreement negotiated by Lebed, Russian troops began withdrawing from Grozny in August 1996. A decision on Chechnya's political status is not scheduled to be finalized until the year 2001. Until then, Moscow has pledged to cooperate with Chechen forces to maintain order and rebuild the economy of the region. Even under the best of circumstances, peace in Chechnya faces many threats.

The Chechen conflict has deep roots in Russian history. A Muslim people in the rugged northern

Caucasus along Russia's southern fringe, the Chechens have fiercely resisted Russian rule for centuries. In 1944, Stalin deported more than 500,000 Chechens to Siberia on false charges that they had collaborated with Nazi Germany during World War II. The Chechens were not allowed to return to their homeland until 1957.

As Soviet power unraveled in the closing months of 1991, Dzhokar Dudayev, a general in the Soviet air force, seized control of Chechnya and declared the region an independent republic. He promised to create a prosperous economy based on Chechnya's rich oil resources. Over the next three years, Dudayev established Chechnya as a center of smuggling and drug trafficking. Chechen officials refused to pay taxes to the Russian government.

Viktor Bogorad in the *St. Petersburg Press*



In December 1994, Yeltsin launched an invasion of 40,000 troops to re-establish control over Chechnya. Russia's defense minister bragged that the operation would be accomplished in two hours. Instead, the first weeks of fighting showed that the Russian army was poorly organized and unprepared. Russian tank units were thrown into battle without maps of Grozny, while young recruits were ordered to march into blinding fog. Dudayev's well-trained soldiers cut the Russian army into pieces with guerrilla tactics.

Moscow responded to its early setbacks by unleashing a massive artillery and aerial bombardment against Grozny. More seasoned troops were brought in to reinforce the assault. Dudayev's forces were not soundly defeated, but they were gradually forced out of the city and driven south into the Caucasus Mountains. Dudayev himself was apparently killed in an artillery attack.

In July 1995, the two sides signed the first accords aimed at ending the fighting. Russian officials hoped to convince the Chechens to give up their struggle for independence in exchange for greater self-government. In recent years, Moscow has reached similar deals with several regions within Russia. The region of Tatarstan, for example, has been granted broad decision-making power over local issues and has been allowed to keep a large share of the revenue raised from taxes on local oil production.

The Chechen war has changed political attitudes in Russia. Relations between the country's more than 20 million Muslims and ethnic Russians have grown tenser. Bombings and other acts of terrorism have been linked to Chechen rebels. As a result, Russian political observers believe that most Russian voters are more concerned about crime, stability, and national security, and less tolerant of minority groups.

At the same time, the war has drawn new attention to the division of power between Moscow and Russia's regions. Under Yeltsin, Moscow has shown a greater willingness to transfer authority to local leaders than at any time in Russian history. As a result, roughly half of government spending in Russia now takes place at the local level.

Economic Changes

At the eye of Russia's political storm has been the country's economic crisis. Since 1990, when the old Soviet economy began turning sharply downward, Russians have been forced to cope with soaring inflation, a deep decline in production, and rising unemployment. The great majority have seen their

living standards plunge. At the same time, the Russian economy has become a battleground in the struggle among the country's political leadership.

Shock therapy

In the months following the failed coup of August 1991, the initiative belonged to a group of bold economic reformers who formed the inner circle of Yeltsin's government. With the help of advisers from the United States and other Western countries, they drafted a program known as "shock therapy" to lay the groundwork for a free-market economy in Russia. Meanwhile, Yeltsin strengthened his grip on the presidency, claiming many of the institutions and resources of the Soviet central government for Russia. By the time the Soviet Union officially ceased to exist and Gorbachev resigned from office at the end of December 1991, preparations had been made to administer the first dose of shock therapy.

The most important changes began in January 1992. Price controls were lifted on 90 percent of the goods sold in Russia. Government spending was slashed and plans were drawn up to place state-run companies in the hands of private owners. The "Boys in Reeboks," as the team of economic advisers was called, realized that many of the inefficient, state-run factories that had been kept alive during the Soviet era would have to close or drastically trim their work forces. They predicted, however, that free-market competition would give rise to new companies and generate new jobs.

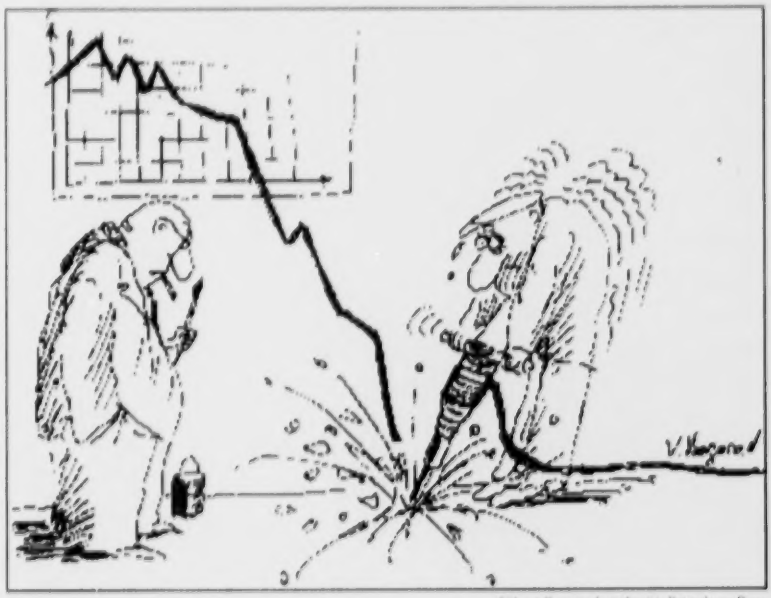
Yeltsin's popularity at first overwhelmed many of shock therapy's opponents. By the summer of 1992, the factory managers, farm directors, and other defenders of the old Soviet economic system were ready to fight back. The main point of contention was the budget. The reformers favored cutting government subsidies to state-run industries. Their opponents countered that the reform plan would result in economic chaos.

The political tug-of-war produced a confusing economic picture. Critics of shock therapy succeeded in maintaining the flow of government subsidies to big industries. Consequently, unemployment rose only slightly. Government presses, however, were working overtime to print money so that state-run factories and farms could pay their workers. At the same time, government officials imposed heavy taxes to hold down the budget deficit.

The economic record for 1992 pleased no one. Prices for consumer goods increased 25 times. Production fell by 19 percent, while the buying power of workers dropped by more than 40 percent. By September 1993, the confrontation over economic policy had led Yeltsin to dissolve parliament. Street violence between anti-Yeltsin forces and troops loyal to the president erupted in Moscow in early October. The clash left the top floors of the Russian parliament in flames and killed at least 140 people. Although Yeltsin defeated his political foes, his country's economic performance for 1993 left most Russians fearful. Prices had increased nine times and production had dropped by 12 percent.

Reining in reform

The results of the December 1993 election marked another turning point in Russia's economic policies. Critics of economic reform, led by the Liberal Democrats, outpolled parties supporting the free-



Viktor Bogorad in the *St. Petersburg Press*

market system. In response, Yeltsin backtracked on his commitment to shock therapy. In January 1994, many of Yeltsin's free-market advisers were removed or demoted. Their ranks were mostly filled with allies of Russia's industrial managers. Viktor Chernomyrdin, formerly the director of the Soviet gas industry, headed the new government.

> *The period of market romanticism has ended for us. We must make our people's life easier.*
> —*Viktor Chernomyrdin*

Chernomyrdin did not reverse the course of economic reform, but neither did he press forward at full speed. Instead, Russia's economy has settled into a niche somewhere between Soviet communism and Western-style capitalism.

In 1994 and 1995, Chernomyrdin resisted pressure to dramatically increase government spending. Government subsidies were largely phased out for industry. Only Russia's inefficient collective farms and the struggling regions of the far north continued to receive substantial government assistance. In addition, Russia's military-industrial complex, which absorbs as much as 40 percent of the national budget, was the target of major cutbacks. Inflation fell to 131 percent in 1995.

In the first half of 1996, however, government spending soared in support of Yeltsin's re-election campaign. Officials quietly recommended that factory managers pay their workers back wages rather than meet their tax obligations. As the presidential elections approached, Russia's budget deficit reached record levels. Economists predicted a jump in inflation and worried that Russia's economic output, which fell 13 percent in 1994 and 4 percent in 1995, would continue to slide downward.

Chernomyrdin has pushed ahead with the privatization efforts introduced in 1992. All but a few vital sectors of the economy, such as defense, nuclear energy, communications, and transportation, have been placed under private ownership. Many of the most profitable enterprises have fallen into the hands of factory directors, former high-level bureaucrats, and others with close ties to the government.

Caught in the whirlwind

The dismantling of the Soviet economic system has turned Russian society on its head. Throughout much of Russian history, and especially during the Soviet era, economic equality was a core principle of Russian society. Suspicion and envy were often directed at those who climbed above their neighbors financially. Since the fall of communism, a new philosophy has arisen. Equality has taken a back seat to economic opportunity. The shift has left most Russians resentful and apprehensive. Many of them have slipped into poverty. At the same time, they have witnessed the rise of a new class of wealthy entrepreneurs.

Moscow, the world's most expensive city in 1996, is a city of contrasts. Not far from the Kremlin, the center of Russian power since the 14th century, haggard pensioners sell off their possessions. Many line the sidewalks for hours, offering for sale no more than a single comb or a jar of homemade jam.

Meanwhile, the newly rich have carved out a life of luxury and exclusivity for themselves. Moscow, as well as other big Russian cities, is dotted with private social clubs. For annual dues of several thousands of dollars, members enjoy casino gambling, gourmet dining, cabaret performances, striptease shows, and even cockroach races. Moscow also boasts a private country club and yacht club. The wealth and authority of successful businessmen and top government bureaucrats have allowed them to claim the special vacation resorts and first-rate hospitals that were once reserved for high-ranking Soviet officials.

The old social order has been demolished too. Violent crime has soared in recent years. Criminal gangs have made extortion and drug trafficking commonplace, contributing to a homicide rate nearly twice as high as that of the United States. In many Russian cities, shopkeepers, small factory owners, and other businessmen are forced to pay protection money to the Russian mafia. Members of Russia's business elite are constantly ringed by bodyguards and travel in bullet-proof cars.

Mafia bosses have come to dominate entire sectors of the economy, such as foreign trade, retailing, and restaurants. Bribes to corrupt government officials have allowed organized crime to evade

regulations and taxes. The mafia has even sought to gain access to nuclear materials and sell them on the international black market.

The sudden changes have shocked Russians accustomed to the Soviet system. The Soviet Union after Stalin's death placed a premium on stability and security. Few people other than the Communist Party elite would have been considered rich by American standards, but neither was there much desperate poverty. Soviet officials kept down costs for housing, bread, utilities, public transportation, and other basic necessities through government subsidies. Apartment rent, for example, typically amounted to less than 5 percent of a family's income. Guaranteed employment was the foundation of the communist system. Workers believed that their jobs were protected regardless of economic conditions or changes in technology. Moreover, employment was tied to housing, health care, special deliveries of food, and other benefits.

> *I brought up my kids under Soviet power and I managed somehow. But how can a single mother do that today? Only the new rich can do it.*
>
> *—Middle-aged woman*

For many Russian workers, the impact of unemployment is only beginning to hit home. During the first two years of economic reform, many enterprises relied on government subsidies to avoid job cuts. Since 1994, however, the pressures of the marketplace, reductions in government spending, and new bankruptcy laws have forced employers to lay off workers. By 1995, unemployment had risen to 8.2 percent. Much more common are ailing enterprises that have not raised salaries in line with inflation. (The average weekly wage in Russia was $37 in 1996.) Others have withheld wages for months at a time. Most struggling workers lack the skills and initiative to make a living in the new economy. Meanwhile, they are finding that they can expect little help from the government.

Winners and losers

The Russian economy that has emerged from years of restructuring stands in stark contrast to its Soviet predecessor. Virtually gone are the industries — such as household electronics and textiles — that once produced consumer goods for the closed Soviet market. In most cases, Russian factories have been unable to compete with the flood of foreign imports.

The Soviet past has been an especially heavy burden for Russia's big industrial firms. The closed nature of the Soviet economy discouraged technological innovation, leaving many Russian factories with outdated and inefficient equipment. Moreover, Soviet industry was particularly wasteful of raw materials and energy. For example, the Soviet Union used 80 percent more steel than the United States, even though its economy was less than half the size of the U.S. economy. The Soviet mentality led to nightmarish pollution as well. In many areas, industrial wastes were dumped untreated into rivers and lakes. At least for the moment, cleaning up the environment has been overshadowed by the demands of the marketplace.

Russia's economy is increasingly based on raw materials. By 1996, about half of Russia's exports consisted of energy, minerals, and timber. Exports of Russian machinery and equipment represented 5 percent of Russia's sales abroad.

The big winners in Russia's economic transformation are those that have gained a stake in the oil and gas industries. Privatization gave government and industry officials from the Soviet era an inside track on acquiring control of many of Russia's most profitable companies.

Gazprom, which holds a monopoly over Russia's natural gas industry, controls roughly one-third of the world's proven gas reserves. The company's assets are estimated to be worth from $200 to $700 billion. Moreover, Gazprom enjoys a very cozy relationship with the government, which owns 40 percent of the company stock. Foreign investment in Gazprom has been tightly restricted.

Over the long term, however, economists predict that Russia's energy industry will need foreign investment to improve efficiency. In the 1980s, Soviet oil output ranked first in the world. Since 1987, however, oil production has fallen 40 percent, lower than that of Saudi Arabia and the United States. Most potential foreign investors have been scared off by the uncertainty of Russia's legal system and tax code.

Corruption has also frightened outsiders, while enriching a small group of influential Russians. The ties between government officials and the country's newly privatized companies typically extend back to the Soviet era. What is different is that the end of state control over the economy has expanded opportunities for instant riches. Much of the new wealth in Russia has been generated through special import and export licenses and questionable tax breaks.

The Russian National Sports Foundation, for example, has been importing 98 percent of the alcohol and 90 percent of the tobacco legally sold in Russia. Thanks to its government connections, the foundation has been exempted from paying billions of dollars in taxes and import tariffs. In turn, the foundation's directors have made sure to channel a share of their huge profits to government officials. In other cases, the government has permitted businessmen to buy Russian raw materials at cut-rate prices. The commodities have in turn been sold on the world market at a substantial profit.

At the same time, Russia's economic reform has produced many legitimate success stories. The privatization of state-run firms has created a new breed of financial specialists. Banking, insurance, stock brokerage, and other financial services have gained a foothold in the Russian economy. Entrepreneurs capable of adjusting to the tastes of well-off Russian consumers are also among the winners. Although most Russians can afford little more than basic necessities, there is nonetheless a growing demand for stylish clothing, expensive cars, and other luxuries.

In addition, Russia's high-tech industries in space research, nuclear technology, weapons, and metals are competitive in the world market. In 1995, Russia exported $6 billion in arms to poor, developing nations, ranking ahead of the United States for the first time since the Cold War. There are even bright spots within Russia's heavy industrial sector. The directors of Uralmash, for example, have cut their work force nearly in half and have formed a joint venture with two American companies. Uralmash products now include a new model of oil rig that better meets the needs of Russia's privatized oil companies.

Finally, economic change has affected each region of Russia differently. The regions with the best economic prospects are those with marketable resources. For example, the Yakutia region in eastern Siberia, with its vast reserves of diamonds and gold, and the energy-rich Tyumen region in western Siberia have attracted the interest of foreign investors. In addition, port cities such as St. Petersburg and Vladivostok have benefited from increased trade.

In human terms, the losers in Russia's transformation so far outnumber the winners. According to the World Bank, one-third of Russia's population lives in poverty. Elderly pensioners and farm workers have been especially hard hit. Life expectancy for Russian males has steadily fallen since the collapse of the Soviet Union. The average Russian boy born in 1996 is expected to live only fifty-seven years (as compared to seventy-two years in the United States). Health experts blame in part high rates of smoking and alcoholism, but they also report a growing failure to vaccinate children against preventable diseases and an increase in birth defects that may be linked to the environmental abuses of the Soviet era.

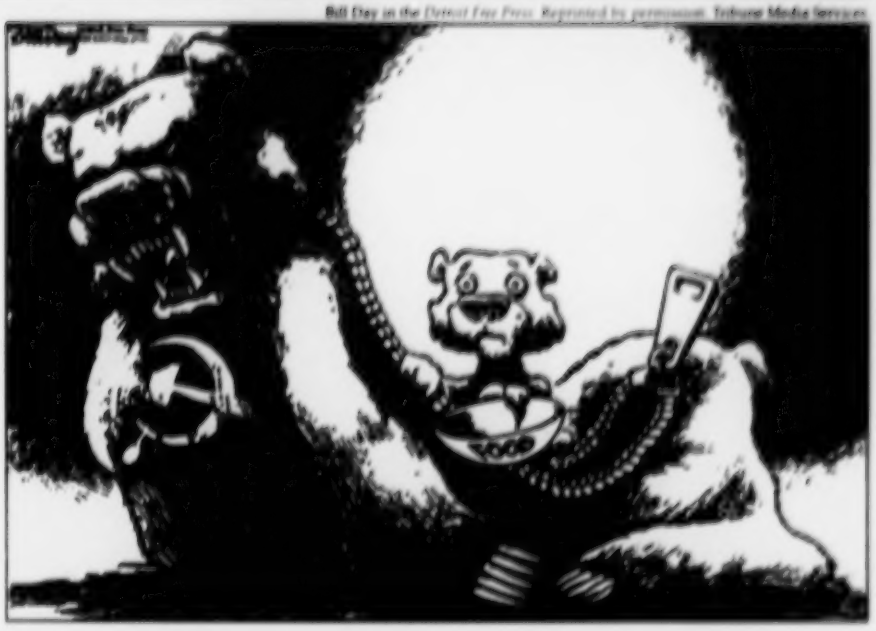
Foreign Policy

Historically, Russian leaders have focused their energies on strengthening their country's position in the world. From Peter the Great to Mikhail Gorbachev, government policy has centered on international relations, particularly on matters relating to the military. Foreign policy concerns are still critical for leaders of the new Russia, but President Yeltsin's government must cope with a world in which Moscow has lost much of its international clout.

Empire in shambles

The foreign policy of the new Russia has gradually edged closer to its past roots. Many of the interests and concerns that preoccupied Russian policymakers decades and even centuries ago have again moved to the top of Moscow's agenda. In the process, Russian leaders have tilted away from the West and toward a worldview that stresses Russia's uniqueness.

In the wake of the Soviet collapse, Yeltsin's foreign policy initially sought to build new bridges to the



Bill Day in the *Detroit Free Press*. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services

West. The emphasis on close relations with the West led Russia to overlook its ties with the other states of the former Soviet Union. Russia's foreign minister did not make his first tour of the other FSU countries until April 1992.

While Russia neglected its former Soviet neighbors, the full impact of the Soviet Union's disintegration began to be felt. Under the Soviet system, the republics had been linked economically not only to Moscow, but to each other. Without a framework to sort out economic relations, many of the ties that had held the Soviet economy together unraveled. Russian factory directors were suddenly cut off from vital supplies of parts and raw materials. As a result, trade in Russia and the other FSU states plummeted, contributing in large part to the region's economic crisis.

With respect to defense, Russia lost possession of radar stations, air bases, and other key military installations located elsewhere in the FSU. These facilities had been deliberately built on the periphery of the Soviet Union to protect the heartland of the country from attack.

Meanwhile, Russia's borders with its former Soviet neighbors were poorly defended and geographically vulnerable. Russian officials feared that without control over the old Soviet borders their country would be easy prey for drug traffickers, terrorists, and others seeking to exploit Russia's weakness.

By the end of 1992, Russian foreign policymakers had shifted their focus to the other states of the former Soviet Union. A new term — "near abroad" — emerged to describe Russia's perspective on the other former Soviet republics.

Focus on Ukraine and Kazakstan

Ukraine and Kazakstan have become the new Russia's top foreign policy priorities. Other than Russia itself, Ukraine and Kazakstan are the largest former Soviet states. Both countries are rich in raw materials and contain substantial Russian communities within their borders.

The relationship between Russia and Ukraine is especially complex. In many respects, Ukraine is the birthplace of Russian culture. Kiev, Ukraine's capital, was the center of the Russian state when Russia's leaders accepted Christianity in 988. Russia and Ukraine have been closely linked politically and economically since the 18th century, when the Russian empire established control over much of what is today Ukraine. Under the Soviets, Ukraine served as the country's breadbasket and developed a large industrial base.

Since the break-up of the Soviet Union, Russian-Ukrainian relations have often been tense. Russia has sought to bring Ukraine securely under its wing, especially in the area of foreign and economic policy. Ukraine, in contrast, has tried to break free of Russian domination and assert its independence. The shared history of the two peoples has complicated diplomacy. Many Russians do not view the Ukrainians as a separate nation. Meanwhile, many Ukrainians resent long-standing Russian efforts to deny their right to nationhood.

The two countries remain connected in more concrete terms as well. Of Ukraine's 52 million people,

22 percent are ethnically Russian. Economically, most of Ukraine's oil and gas supplies, as well as many other vital raw materials, come from Russia. In addition, most of the pipelines that carry Russian oil and gas exports to Western Europe pass through Ukraine.

The election of Leonid Kuchma to the Ukrainian presidency in 1994 has helped heal Ukraine's rift with Russia on several issues. Ukraine has allowed Russia to remove the Soviet-era nuclear weapons from its territory for dismantling in Russia. In exchange, Ukraine has received security guarantees from Russia and a commitment that Russia will provide fuel for its nuclear reactors.

Another focal point of tension — the Crimean peninsula that juts into the Black Sea — has also been addressed by recent compromises. The Crimea, where Russians form roughly 70 percent of the population, was officially transferred from Russia to Ukraine in 1954. Russian nationalists have maintained that the region is historically Russian. Yeltsin, however, did not protest in 1995 when Ukraine replaced Crimea's local leaders with officials who were loyal to Kuchma.

Yeltsin and Kuchma have also agreed to divide the roughly 300 warships in the Soviet-era Black Sea fleet, which is based in the Crimea. Negotiations have continued over Russia's claim to the Crimean naval base at Sevastopol.

Russian-Ukrainian relations have proceeded less smoothly on the subject of Russia's efforts to unify the foreign and defense policies of the former Soviet states under Moscow's guidance. Ukraine has sought to balance Russia's influence in the region by developing new ties with the West.

Russia, however, remains in a position to exert economic leverage against Ukraine, especially in the area of energy. By 1994, Ukraine had run up a $2.5 billion debt for Russian energy shipments. To drive home Ukraine's dependency on Russia, Russian officials temporarily closed the energy pipelines supplying Ukraine. Since coming to power, Kuchma has been open to swapping shares in Ukraine's oil and gas industry in exchange for Russian energy supplies.

On the surface, relations between Russia and Kazakstan have proceeded with fewer visible bumps. Kazakstan has joined Russia in promoting military cooperation among the former Soviet republics. Along with Belarus and Kyrgyzstan, Kazakstan accepted Russia's invitation to form a close alliance. The Kazaks also quickly signed agreements allowing Russia to begin removing the nuclear weapons on their territory for dismantling.

Kazakstan's long-term goals, however, do not match those of Russia. Kazak leaders have sought to distance themselves economically from Russia. They have eagerly embraced Western partners, such as American oil companies, to develop their vast energy resources. They have also taken steps to block Russian investment in their newly privatized firms.

The ethnic composition of Kazakstan may prove even more sensitive than economic issues. The Kazaks, like the other Muslim peoples of Central Asia, were conquered by Russia in the 1800s. Modern Almaty, the Kazak capital, was founded as a Russian garrison in the 1854. Under Soviet rule, Russians came to dominate Kazakstan's major cities and key industries. Northern Kazakstan, especially the site around the Soviet Union's most important space complex, was almost entirely Russian.

Nearly 40 percent of Kazakstan's population was Russian at the time of the Soviet collapse. Since 1992, however, tens of thousands of Russians have left. Kazak leaders have moved swiftly to place Kazaks in government positions. Kazak has replaced Russian as the official language. Russians in Northern Kazakstan have organized to protest what they view as open discrimination. Meanwhile, Russia has taken a cautious attitude toward its neighbor.

Extending Russian Influence

While focusing on Ukraine and Kazakstan, Russian officials have kept up the pressure to extend their country's influence to other former Soviet states as well. Belarus has been Moscow's most eager ally. The country's president has gone so far as to call for Belarus to reunite with Russia. For the moment, however, Moscow appears unwilling to forgive Belarus' substantial debts to Russian oil and gas companies.

In the trouble spots of the near abroad, Russia has often made its presence felt with military force. In Tajikistan, for example, Yeltsin sent troops in 1993 to

protect the government there from rebels based in neighboring Afghanistan. The Russian president justified his decision by maintaining that the Tajik-Afghan border belongs not only to Tajikistan, but to Russia as well. Russian officials fear that turmoil in former Soviet states to the south will expose their own country to a flood of refugees and fuel the spread of radical Islamic fundamentalism among the more than 20 million Muslims in Russia.

In Transcaucasia, a region where the Christian and Muslim worlds collide, Russia has been accused of manipulating ethnic conflicts to advance its foreign policy aims. Georgia's leader, for example, has claimed that Russia was behind an offensive by Abkhaz separatists to break free of Georgian control in the northwestern part of the country. In neighboring Azerbaijan, Russia has been charged with aiding Armenians in Nagorno Karabakh in their campaign to gain independence from Azerbaijan. In turn, Russia has asserted that Chechen rebels have received aid through Azerbaijan.

Russia's assertive foreign policy reflects the Yeltsin government's commitment to use Russian diplomacy and troops to impose stability in the near abroad. By the middle of 1994, the combination had stopped most of the fighting that had erupted on the periphery of the old Soviet Union in the early 1990s. More than 16,000 Russian troops were in place to keep the peace. Projecting Russian power in the near abroad has not been cheap. Russian involvement in the conflicts of the former Soviet Union has prevented deeper cuts in the Russian defense budget.

Beyond establishing stability, Russia has sought to define a clear sphere of influence for itself in the near abroad. Since 1993, Moscow has pushed for close economic and military relations among the former Soviet countries, while guarding the rights of Russians in the FSU and blocking the entry of ambitious neighbors into the region.

Moscow has been particularly forceful in asserting a Russian stake in the resources of the energy-rich Caspian Sea Basin. The region's oil reserves are estimated to be surpassed only by those of the Persian Gulf and Siberia. Russia and Iran have held that the Caspian Sea's resources should be developed jointly by the five countries that border the inland sea. Kazakstan, Azerbaijan, and Turkmenistan — with the support of Western energy companies — have staked out their own claims to what are believed to be the most promising drilling sites in the Caspian Sea.

Commonwealth of Independent States

The Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) has emerged as an important tool of Russian policy. Russia took the lead in forming the organization in December 1991 to promote military and economic cooperation among the former Soviet republics. By 1994, all except Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania had joined the CIS, often due to Russian pressure. Dependence on Russian energy supplies and pipelines has reinforced Moscow's interests.

Under the CIS umbrella, Russia has forged an economic union that aims to remove trade barriers and coordinate economic policies among the former Soviet states. The CIS countries are increasingly becoming key trading partners for Russia. In 1995, about one-quarter of Russia's trade was with other members of the commonwealth. In addition, Russia has played a leading role in policing the borders of the CIS.

Russian dominance of the CIS has given Moscow a stronger hand in protecting the nearly 20 million Russians in the near abroad. In Uzbekistan, for example, nearly 1 million Russian-speakers have left since Uzbek was made the official state language.

While extending its influence in the CIS, Russia has worked to keep other countries out. Along the CIS's southern frontier, Yeltsin has warned Turkey not to intervene in conflicts in Chechnya, Transcaucasia, and Central Asia. Among pessimistic officials, there is worry that China, or even Germany, might try to exploit Russia's weakness.

Russia on the world stage

Russia's diplomatic offensive within the CIS has been accompanied by a more assertive posture in the international arena. Russian officials acknowledge that their country no longer commands the superpower status of the Soviet Union, but they have continued to insist on recognition as a great power.

In the United Nations, Russia has pressed for a

special peacekeeping role in the former Soviet Union. Russia has also campaigned to become the eighth member of the Group of Seven (G-7) wealthy democracies, and has already gained a political voice in the exclusive organization. Russia's enormous nuclear arsenal, comparable in strength to the U.S. force, is seen by Moscow as a source of international prestige.

In the months following the Soviet collapse, policymakers on both sides of the old Cold War divide spoke optimistically of constructing a partnership between the former enemies. Russia cooperated with the West in imposing sanctions on Iraq, a former Soviet ally, after the Persian Gulf War and struck the most sweeping arms control agreement ever with the United States, pledging to reduce by more than half the number of nuclear warheads capable of reaching American soil.

Since 1993, however, hopes for friendly relations between Russia and the West have dimmed. President Yeltsin has vigorously opposed proposals to bring old Soviet satellites in Eastern Europe — especially Poland, Hungary, and the Czech republic — into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

> *Those who insist on the expansion of NATO are making a major political mistake. The flame of war would burst out across the whole of Europe.*
>
> *—Boris Yeltsin*

In the former Yugoslavia, where Serbs, Croats, and Bosnian Muslims have fought since the early 1990s, Russia and the West have usually found themselves on opposite sides of the conflict. Russia has historically been a protector of the Serbs, who share the Orthodox Christian faith of Russia. Nonetheless, Russia joined a U.S.-led United Nations peacekeeping mission in 1995 that stopped the fighting in Bosnia.

Even Western attempts to aid Russia's economic reforms have touched off tensions. Since the Soviet collapse, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) has loaned Russia $21 billion. Nearly half of that sum (the second-largest loan in IMF history) was provided a few months before the 1996 presidential election and injected new life in the Yeltsin campaign. President Bill Clinton urged the IMF to grant the loan, while the head of the IMF warned that a communist government could next expect further assistance. In addition, Western governments and banks in early 1996 eased the repayment terms on Russia's debt.

Russian policymakers, however, have been largely disappointed by Western assistance. They claim that the West has not followed up on earlier pledges to cushion the shock of economic reform. Russia has also rejected U.S. aid earmarked for destroying nuclear weapons and has denied American specialists access to their nuclear facilities. At the same time, government critics charge that Western assistance has contributed to corruption, fueled the war in Chechnya, and allowed officials to delay enacting painful, but necessary, economic measures.

Russian leaders insist that open trade is much more critical to their country's future than aid. Chernomyrdin, for example, has cooperated with Vice President Al Gore to lower trade barriers between Russia and the United States. In turn, the Russians have accepted American and IMF recommendations to eliminate taxes on energy exports and to establish straight-forward laws for foreign investment.

Clashing foreign policy interests, however, have spilled over into trade relations. Russia, for example, has rejected U.S. appeals to cancel a deal to build four nuclear reactors in Iran.

Conclusion

Like the Russian people themselves, you will have an opportunity in the coming days to consider a range of alternatives for Russia's future. The three viewpoints, or Futures, that you will explore in the next part of this unit are written from a Russian perspective. Each is based on a distinct set of values and beliefs about the appropriate economic system, political structure, and foreign policy strategy for Russia. You should think of the Futures as a tool designed to help you better understand the contrasting political philosophies from which the Russian people may choose. At the end of this unit, you will be asked to make your own choices about where Russia should be heading.

Futures in Brief

Future 1 — Strength in Unity

The break-up of the Soviet Union will go down in Russian history as a disgraceful episode. In less than a decade, we have fallen from the status of mighty superpower to being an international beggar. The humiliation must end. Russia's power and influence must be restored. Russia's future must revive the greatness of our past. The industrial strength that was developed in this century must be rebuilt. In the area of foreign policy, we should begin by joining hands with our Slavic brothers in Ukraine, Belarus, and northern Kazakstan. No one, particularly the United States and its allies, should stand in the way of our right to protect our national security. We are a military superpower, and we intend to do what is necessary to bolster our defenses.

Future 2 — Proceed with Caution

Change in Russian history has too often resulted in chaos, turmoil, and misery. This time, however, the past cannot be allowed to repeat itself. To reach a brighter future, we must now put aside the political slogans that have divided us. Above all, the times demand caution, patience, and pragmatism. Economic reform should be our long-term goal. The job of government is to maintain a balance between the drive for economic reform and the needs of the people. In the area of foreign policy, we should pursue our national interests with unswerving determination. Strong economic and military ties with the other former Soviet countries are essential to Russia's future. In all of our efforts, let us be guided not by rigid doctrines, but by what is best for Russia.

Future 3 — Look Outward

The end of the Cold War brought down a barrier that had long separated Russia from the outside world. For the first time since 1917, we Russians have an opportunity to enter the mainstream of Western civilization. The course of history is clear. Countries throughout the globe are adopting democracy, free-market economics, and respect for human rights. We must begin with a firm commitment to free-market economics and democracy. Economic competition must be allowed to transform Russia. Although there is little in the Russian experience to guide us in this transition, foreign investors are eager to play a role in modernizing and developing our country. Russia's past obsession with foreign policy must not be allowed to get in the way of our transformation.

Strength in Unity

The break-up of the Soviet Union will go down in Russian history as a disgraceful episode. Boris Yeltsin and Mikhail Gorbachev allowed their own petty political squabbles to destroy the unity of the Slavic heartland. Their blunders were compounded by so-called reformers who sought to make our country's economy dependent on the West. In less than a decade, we have fallen from the status of mighty superpower to being an international beggar. The humiliation must end. Russia's power and influence must be restored. We cannot turn our back on our destiny.

Russia's future must revive the greatness of our past. The industrial strength that was developed in this century must be rebuilt. Government and industry should work as partners to make Russia a respected leader in high-tech fields. We must promote economic development that allows Russia to stand tall among the nations of the world, dependent on no one. Foreign investment and technology should be allowed into Russia only on our terms. Russia's great reserves of oil, gas, gold, and other natural resources should be guarded from foreign exploitation, and our vital industries should be protected from unfair competition. In the area of foreign policy, we should begin by joining hands with our Slavic brothers in Ukraine, Belarus, and northern Kazakstan. The other countries of the former Soviet Union should understand that Russian interests cannot be ignored. The historical borders of our homeland — drawn over the centuries with Russian blood — cannot be erased overnight. No one, particularly the United States and its allies, should stand in the way of our right to protect our national security. We are a military superpower, and we intend to do what is necessary to bolster our defenses. Russia's greatness is forever.

What policies should Russia pursue?

Economically, Russia must concentrate on reviving industries that are essential to protecting our national security and restoring our superpower status. The defense and space sectors should receive special attention. In other areas of the economy as well, the government should play a central role in reversing the decline in industrial production and protecting the stability of our society. High tariffs should be put into place to stop the flood of imports from abroad. Economic self-sufficiency should again be emphasized. Russia's vast resources must be harnessed to the cause of strengthening our country.

Politically, Russia needs a powerful ruler. Western democracy is not suited to a country as huge and diverse as Russia. Rather, Russia must draw on its own political traditions. Russians demand a leader with the determination and authority to put an end to the politics of division, defeat crime, stamp out corruption, and ensure that the Chechen rebellion is the last challenge to our state. The government must have the strength and vision to unite our people in a common purpose.

In foreign policy, we must recognize that the true borders of Russia extend well beyond the confines of the present Russian state. Historical Russia consists of the lands that over the centuries were settled by the Russian people and belonged to the Russian empire — above all, Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and northern Kazakstan. Our first priority must be to restore the unity of historical Russia within a single state. Russian dominance over the rest of the FSU must be accepted by outside powers as well. Russia seeks normal relations with the West, but we demand respect from the United States and its allies. The expansion of NATO eastward is a grave threat to our security. To leave no doubt about our resolve, the strength of the Russian military, especially the nuclear arsenal, must not be allowed to deteriorate.

Lessons from history

The Russian character has been molded by geography. Spread over the vast plain of Eurasia, Russians have been exposed to invaders from all sides. Our people have had no choice but to rally around a strong state and a powerful army. In this century alone, Russia has faced the full might of Germany twice and squared off against the United States in the tense Cold War. In the struggle against Nazi Germany, we were fighting an enemy that sought nothing less than our complete annihilation. A lesser people in similar circumstances would have perished long ago, but we Russians have learned that unity is the key to our survival.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Strengthening the hand of the state will smash the criminal mafias that have terrorized Russia in recent years, give our people a common sense of purpose, and heal the divisions that have torn Russian society.

2. Re-establishing Russia's military strength will give Russia greater leverage in its dealings with other countries.

&

3. Reuniting historical Russia will promote economic development by restoring the economic ties that were severed by the break-up of the Soviet Union.

4. Tightening military cooperation between Russia and the other states of the FSU will save Russia the cost of rebuilding the defense installations, such as radar stations, that are located on what was the periphery of the Soviet Union.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Concentrating power in the central government will play into the hands of a future dictator seeking to recreate a police state and crush individual freedom.

2. An aggressive stance in international affairs will lead to tension with the West and harm Russia's efforts to attract foreign investment and expand exports.

3. Strengthening the authority of government bureaucrats will reverse the progress that has been made toward free-market reform.

4. Recreating an empire, pursuing reckless foreign policy adventures, and building up the military will divert resources from Russia's urgent economic and social problems.

5. Pressuring the countries of the FSU to accept Russian dominance will result in conflict between Russia and its neighbors.

6. Tying Russia's economy to the sinking fortunes of Ukraine, Belarus, and northern Kazakstan will act as a drag on Russia's economic progress.

PROCEED WITH CAUTION

Change in Russian history has too often resulted in chaos, turmoil, and misery. Today, history has once again thrust change upon us. We are living through a period of great confusion and uncertainty. This time, however, the past cannot be allowed to repeat itself. To reach a brighter future, we must now put aside the political slogans that have divided us. We cannot go back to the failed Soviet system. Neither can we wrap ourselves in alien Western values and structures. Russia's situation is unique, and we must find solutions that specifically fit our own circumstances. Above all, the times demand caution, patience, and pragmatism. Disaster is the price of reckless policies.

Economic reform should be our long-term goal. Applied properly, competition and innovation can help propel our country forward. At the same time, the forces of blind capitalism must not be allowed to overwhelm the order and stability of our society. The job of government is to maintain a balance between the drive for economic reform and the needs of the people. The pace of change should never exceed the ability of society to adjust. Likewise, the government must ensure that reform is always in step with Russia's national security. In the area of foreign policy, we should pursue our national interests with unswerving determination. Strong economic and military ties with the other former Soviet countries are essential to Russia's future. In addition, Russia needs trade and investment from the advanced countries of the West and East Asia to achieve our long-term economic goals. At the same time, we reject American attempts to poison our relations with Iran, Iraq, and Serbia. In all of our efforts, let us be guided not by rigid doctrines, but by what is best for Russia.

What policies should Russia pursue?

Economically, Russia should ensure that carrying out the long-term goal of economic reform does not come at the expense of social stability. Unemployment must be kept from sharply rising, even if this requires government help for struggling industries. At the same time, government spending must not be allowed to balloon to the point that inflation spins out of control. The state should also play a stabilizing role in the most vital sectors of the economy. Russia's trade policies must protect our country's national interests and ensure the health of our leading enterprises. In addition, we should work to restore the economic ties that link us to other countries of the FSU. Beyond the FSU, we should seek to expand our foreign trade, especially with the nations of Eastern Europe and Asia.

Politically, Russia should not be constrained by models from either the West or the Soviet era. Russia cannot be allowed to veer in one direction and then another as political parties fight for power. Above all, we should construct a political system that protects the social order without subjecting our people to the fear of the past. The central government should have a strong hand to safeguard Russia's national interests. At the same time, local conflicts in Chechnya and elsewhere should be settled through compromise, not bloodshed.

In foreign policy, Russia must set an independent course. To promote Russia's national security, we must continue to take the lead in forging closer economic and military ties among the CIS countries. The world must recognize that Russia is the only country in the region capable of upholding peace and stability, and that we will maintain a military strong enough to meet our responsibilities. While trade and economic assistance from the West are important to our economic reforms, we must insist our legitimate interests be respected. We should also seek to develop closer relations with non-Western countries.

Lessons from history

Russia has repeatedly suffered at the hands of leaders bent on rapid change. In this century alone, millions have died in communism's futile efforts to reshape the Russian people. During the civil war of 1917-20, the vain ambitions of Lenin and his followers left Russia ravaged and starving. Even worse was Stalin's campaign in the 1930s to impose state control over every facet of the economy. In his mad attempt to transform society, Stalin killed at least 10 million people and left the Soviet people forever fearful. In trying to speed up the wheel of history, Lenin and Stalin in fact planted the seeds of the communist system's destruction.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Setting Russia on a moderate and balanced course will undercut the appeal of extremists on both sides of the political spectrum.

2. Proceeding toward economic reform at a moderate pace will allow Russians to gradually adjust to the demands of the market economy.

&

3. Maintaining friendly, supportive relations with the other CIS states will help Russia unite the region behind the goals of economic integration and military cooperation.

4. Pursuing a flexible, independent foreign policy will open up trade opportunities for Russia and allow our country to steer clear of international conflicts.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Slowing down the pace of economic reform will only delay the country's economic recovery and prolong the suffering of the people.

2. Without strong, purposeful leadership, the unity of the Russian people will dissolve and criminal forces will further tighten their grip on the country.

3. Maintaining government control over key sectors of the economy will result in the same incompetence, inefficiency, and corruption that were common during the Soviet era.

4. A foreign policy that seeks friendly relations with all countries ignores the fact that on many issues the interests of Russia and the interests of the West are in conflict.

5. By keeping our distance from the United States and its allies, Russia will miss out on a critical opportunity to build a mutually beneficial partnership with the West.

6. Continuing Russia's so-called "economic reforms" will enrich only the criminals and opportunists who thrive in an environment of corruption and chaos.

Future
3

Look Outward

The end of the Cold War brought down a barrier that has long separated Russia from the outside world. For the first time since 1917, we Russians have an opportunity to enter the mainstream of Western civilization. In the past, Russians have failed to live up to the challenge. If we fail today, future generations of Russians will not forgive us. The course of history is clear. Countries throughout the globe are adopting democracy, free-market economics, and respect for human rights. We can no longer retreat into the ignorance, backwardness, and barbarity that has kept our people in chains. Generations of Russian reformers have been struck down by power-hungry tyrants before they could reach their goals. Now we must complete the journey and link Russia to the outside world.

The path Russia must follow is clearly marked. We must begin with a firm commitment to free-market economics and democracy. The rule of law must apply to everyone, including our leaders. Private property must be guaranteed. Economic competition must be allowed to transform Russia. Although there is little in the Russian experience to guide us in this transition, foreign investors are eager to play a role in modernizing and developing our country. Russia's past obsession with foreign policy must not be allowed to get in the way of our transformation. We cannot be shackled to the interests of a failed empire. The struggling nations of Central Asia and Transcaucasia offer little for Russia's future. There is no need for military priorities to again dominate our society. Rather, we should act as a responsible member of the international community. Russia will not be transformed overnight, but ultimately we will be able to take our rightful place among the nations of the West.

What policies should Russia pursue?

Economically, Russia must strive to join the advanced economies of the United States, Western Europe, and East Asia in the global marketplace. The barriers to free-market competition must continue to be dismantled. Government subsidies to state-run industries should be sharply cut and foreign investment should be encouraged. The institution of private property should be clearly protected under the law. Entrepreneurial spirit, not government planning, is the engine that will generate jobs and prosperity in Russia's future.

Politically, the fundamental principles of democracy must guide Russia's future. Freedom of expression, respect for human rights, checks and balances among branches of government, and fair elections must be the cornerstones of Russia's political system. A balanced federal system should be created, like that in the United States, that clearly divides political power among the local, regional, and central governments.

In foreign policy, Russia's interests lie with the international community. Russia should develop a partnership with the United States, Western Europe, and Japan to ensure peace, stability, and global cooperation. Ultimately, Russia should seek firm economic and security ties with the leading industrial democracies. The Russian military should be downsized to meet its role in the new international system. Emphasis should be placed on creating a rapid deployment force that would be available to participate in international missions.

Lessons from history

Russian history is the story of missed opportunities. In the 1860s and in the years after 1905, Russia seemed headed on the path toward Western-style democracy. Both reform efforts were thwarted, however, by a conservative backlash. In 1917, a liberal democratic regime came to power only to be swept aside by the communists. Gorbachev's reforms offered hope as well that Russia would finally join the West, but *perestroika* and *glasnost* proved to be half-hearted measures. History shows us that the forces separating Russia from the West are deeply entrenched. They can be overcome only by a long-term commitment to the free-market system and democracy.

PROS

SUPPORTING ARGUMENTS

1. Creating an economic system that shares the same fundamental principles as the economies of the leading industrial democracies will help make Russia a major area of foreign investment.

2. A firm partnership with the West in international affairs will serve to deter Turkey, China, and other regional powers from trying to spread their influence in the countries of the FSU.

&

3. As the experience of South Korea, Taiwan, and other rapidly industrializing countries has shown, close cooperation with the international community is Russia's only route to economic development.

4. Opening Russia up to foreign technology and investment will expose Russians to the latest advances in computers, biotechnology, telecommunications and other high-tech fields that they missed out on during the Soviet era.

CONS

OPPOSING ARGUMENTS

1. Closer economic and foreign policy ties between Russia and the West will leave Russia economically dependent and internationally weak.

2. Overlooking our relations with the other countries of the FSU will leave our borders vulnerable to smuggling, terrorism, Islamic fundamentalism, and other threats to our national security.

3. Opening up Russia to foreign investment will lead to the exploitation of our natural resources and further damage to our environment.

4. The rush to the free-market economy will cost tens of millions of Russians their jobs, widen the gap between rich and poor, and feed conditions that produce crime and violence.

5. Close relations with the West will sharpen tensions between Russia and many non-Western countries, such as China, Iran, and the Muslim states of the FSU.

6. Weakening the authority of the state will encourage regional leaders to set their own course, putting Russia on the path toward chaos and disintegration.

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider three Futures for Russia. Now it is your turn to look at each of the Futures from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the Futures address the concerns and hopes of the Russian people. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages.

Ranking the Options

Which of the Futures below do you prefer? Rank the Futures, with "1" being the best Future for Russia to follow.

___ **Future 1: Strength in Unity**

___ **Future 2: Proceed with Caution**

___ **Future 3: Look Outward**

Beliefs

Rate each of the statements according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support 3 = Oppose 5 = Undecided
2 = Support 4 = Strongly Oppose

___ Russia and the countries of the West share a common set of goals and interests.

___ There will always be countries eager to take advantage of Russia's weaknesses.

___ Rapid change inevitably leads to problems.

___ The government's emphasis on military power has historically harmed the Russian people.

___ The political and economic systems of the West are destined to sweep over the entire world.

___ Russia can advance only if political passions are put aside.

___ Social stability and economic security are more important than individual freedom.

___ Without a strong state, Russia would have long ago been crushed by invaders.

___ Unity with other Slavic peoples is vital for Russia's security and prosperity.

Creating Your Own Future

Your next challenge is to create a Future that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one Future, or you may combine ideas from two or three Futures. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft a Future that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, you should not encourage foreign investment from the United States and Western Europe if you believe that Russia's long-term interests are in conflict with those of the West.

Supplementary Documents

Speech by Josef Stalin, entitled "The Tasks of Business Executives" February 1931

(Below is the abbreviated text of a speech delivered by Josef Stalin to Communist Party leaders. The speech, which was given at a time when Soviet officials were often using brutal methods to impose a command economy, reveals Stalin's interpretation of Russian history.)

...Science, technical experience, knowledge, are all things that can be acquired. We may not have them today, but tomorrow we will. The main thing is to have the passionate Bolshevik desire to master technique, to master the science of production. Everything can be achieved, everything can be overcome, if there is a passionate desire to do so.

It is sometimes asked whether it is not possible to slow down the tempo somewhat, to put a check on the movement. No, comrades, it is not possible! The tempo must not be reduced! On the contrary, we must increase it as much as is within our powers and possibilities. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. This is dictated to us by our obligations to the working class of the whole world.

To slacken the tempo would mean falling behind. And those who fall behind get beaten! One feature of the history of old Russia was the continual beatings she suffered because of her backwardness. She was beaten by the Mongol khans. She was beaten by the Turkish beys. She was beaten by the Swedish feudal lords. She was beaten by the Polish and Lithuanian gentry. She was beaten by the British and French capitalists. She was beaten by the Japanese barons. All beat her — because of her backwardness, military backwardness, cultural backwardness, political backwardness, industrial backwardness, and agricultural backwardness. They beat her because to do so was profitable and could be done with impunity. Do you remember the words of the prerevolutionary poet: "You are poor and abundant, mighty and impotent, Mother Russia." Those gentlemen were quite familiar with the verses of the old poet. They beat her saying: "You are abundant," so one can enrich oneself at your expense. They beat her saying: "You are poor and impotent," so you can be beaten and plundered with impunity. Such is the law of the exploiters — to beat the backward and the weak. It is the jungle law of capitalism. You are backward, you are weak — therefore you are wrong; hence you can be beaten and enslaved. You are mighty — therefore you are right; hence, we must be wary of you.

That is why we must no longer lag behind.

In the past we had no fatherland, nor could we have one. But now that we have overthrown capitalism and power is in our hands, in the hands of the people, we have a fatherland, and we will defend its independence. Do you want our socialist fatherland to be beaten and to lose its independence? If you do not want this you must put an end to its backwardness in the shortest possible time and develop genuine Bolshevik tempo in building up its socialist system of economy. There is no other way. That is why Lenin said on the eve of the October Revolution: "Either perish, or overtake and outstrip the advanced capitalist countries."

We are fifty or a hundred years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this distance in ten years. Either we do it, or we shall be crushed.

This is what our obligations to the workers and peasants of the U.S.S.R. dictate to us.

But we have other, still more serious and more important obligations. They are obligations to the world proletariat. They coincide with our obligations to the workers and the peasants of the U.S.S.R. But we place them higher. The working class of the U.S.S.R. is part of the world working class. We achieved victory not solely through the efforts of the working class of the U.S.S.R., but also thanks to the support of the working class of the world. Without this support we would have been torn to pieces long ago. It is said that our country is the shock brigade of the proletariat of all countries. This is a fitting definition. But this imposes very serious obligations upon us. Why does the international proletariat support us? How did we merit this support? By the fact that we were the first to hurl ourselves into the battle against capitalism, we

were the first to establish a working-class state, we were the first to start building socialism. By the fact that we are doing work which, if successful, will change the whole world and free the entire working class. But what is needed for success? The elimination of our backwardness, the development of a high Bolshevik tempo of construction. We must march forward in such a way that the working class of the whole world, looking at us, may say: This is my vanguard, this is my shock brigade, this is my working-class state, this is my fatherland; they are promoting their cause, which is *our* cause, and they are doing this well; let us support them against the capitalists and promote the cause of the world revolution. Must we not live up to the hopes of the world's working class, must we not fulfill our obligations to them? Yes, we must if we do not want utterly to disgrace ourselves.

Such are our obligations, internal and international.

As you see, they dictate to us a Bolshevik tempo of development.

I will not say that we have accomplished nothing in regard to economic management during these years. In fact, we have accomplished a good deal. We have doubled our industrial output as compared with the prewar level. We have created the largest-scale agricultural production in the world. But we could have accomplished more had we tried hard during this period really to master production, the technique of production, the financial and economic side of it.

In ten years at most we must make good the distance that separates us from the advanced capitalist countries. We have all the "objective" possibilities for this. The only thing lacking is the ability to take proper advantage of these possibilities. And that depends on us. *Only* on us! It is time we learned to take advantage of these possibilities. It is time to put an end to the rotten policy of noninterference in production. It is time to adopt a new policy, a policy adapted to the present times — the policy of *interfering in everything*. If you are a factory manager, then interfere in all the affairs of the factory, look into everything, let nothing escape you, learn and learn again. Bolsheviks must master technique. It is time Bolsheviks themselves became experts. In the period of reconstruction technique decides everything. And a business executive who does not want to master technique is a joke and not an executive.

It is said that it is hard to master technique. That is not true! There are no fortresses which Bolsheviks cannot capture. We have solved a number of most difficult problems. We have overthrown capitalism. We have assumed power. We have built up a huge socialist industry. We have swung the middle peasants to the path of socialism. We have already accomplished what is most important from the point of view of construction. What remains to be done is not so much: to study technique, to master science. And when we have done that we will develop a tempo of which we dare not even dream at present.

And we will do that if we really want to....

The "Secret Speech" by Nikita Khrushchev Delivered to the 20th Soviet Communist Party Congress, February 24, 1956

(Below is the abbreviated text of a speech delivered by Nikita Khrushchev to a closed session of Communist Party leaders. The speech marked the first time a prominent Soviet official openly criticized the brutality of Josef Stalin's regime.)

...Comrades: The cult of the individual acquired such monstrous size chiefly because Stalin himself, using all conceivable methods, supported the glorification of his own person. This is supported by numerous facts. One of the most characteristic examples of Stalin's self-gratification and his lack of even elementary modesty is the edition of his *Short Biography*, which was published in 1948....

We need not give here examples of the loathsome adulation filling this book. All we need to add is that they all were approved and edited by Stalin personally and some of them were added in his own handwriting to the draft text of the book.

What did Stalin consider essential to write in his book? Did he want to cool the ardor of his flatterers who were composing his *Short Biography*? No! He marked the very places where he thought the praise of his services was insufficient.

Here are some examples characterizing Stalin's activity, added in Stalin's own hand:

"In this fight against the skeptics and capitulators, the Trotskyites, Zinovievites, Bukharinites and Kamenevites, there was definitely welded together, after Lenin's death, that leading the Party...that upheld the great manner of Lenin, rallied the Party behind Leninist behests, and brought the Soviet people into the broad road of industrializing the country and collectivizing the rural economy. The leader of this core and the guiding force of the Party and the State was Comrade Stalin."

Thus writes Stalin himself! Then he adds:

"Although he performed his task of leader of the Party and the people with consummate skill and enjoyed the unreserved support of the entire Soviet people, Stalin never allowed his work to be marred by the slightest hint of vanity, conceit or self-adulation."

Where and when could a leader so praise himself? Is this worthy of a leader of the Marxist-Leninist type? No. Precisely against this did Marx and Engels take such a strong position. This also was always sharply condemned by Vladimir Ilyich Lenin....

Stalin recognized as the best a text of the national anthem of the Soviet Union which contains not a word about the Communist Party; it contains, however, the following unprecedented praise of Stalin: *"Stalin brought us up in loyalty to the people. He inspired us to great toil and acts."*

In these lines of the anthem is the whole educational, directional, and inspirational activity of the great Leninist party ascribed to Stalin. This is, of course, a clear deviation from Marxism-Leninism, a clear debasing and belittling of the role of the party. We should add for your information that the Presidium of the Central Committee has already passed a resolution concerning the composition of a new text of the anthem, which will reflect the role of the people, and the role of the party. (Loud, prolonged applause.)

And was it without Stalin's knowledge that many of the largest enterprises and towns were named after him? Was it without his knowledge that Stalin monuments were erected in the whole country — these "memorials to the living"? It is a fact that Stalin himself had signed on July 2, 1951, a resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers concerning the erection on the Volga-Don Canal of an impressive monument to Stalin; on September 4 of the same year he issued an order making thirty-three tons of copper available for the construction of this impressive monument. Anyone who has visited the Stalingrad area must have seen the huge statue which is being built there, and that on a site which hardly any people frequent. Huge sums were spent to build it at a time when people of this area had lived since the war in huts. Consider yourself, was Stalin right when he wrote in his biography that "...he did not allow in himself...even a shadow of conceit, pride, or self-adoration"?

At the same time Stalin gave proofs of his lack of respect for Lenin's memory. It is not a coincidence that, despite the decision taken over 30 years ago to build a Palace of Soviets as a monument to Vladimir Ilyich, this palace was not built, its construction was always postponed, and the project allowed to lapse.

We cannot forget to recall the Soviet Government resolution of August 14, 1925, concerning the "founding of Lenin prizes for educational work." This resolution was published in the press, but until this day there are no Lenin prizes. This, too, should be corrected. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

During Stalin's life, thanks to known methods which I have mentioned, and quoting facts, for instance, from the *Short Biography* of Stalin — all events were explained as if Lenin played only a secondary role, even during the October Socialist Revolution. In many films and in many literary works, the figure of Lenin was incorrectly presented and inadmissibility depreciated.

Stalin loved to see the film *The Unforgettable Year of 1919*, in which he was shown on the steps of an armored train and where he was practically vanquishing the foe with his own saber. Let Kliment Yefremovich [Voroshilov, chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, 1953-1960], our dear friend, find the necessary courage to write the truth about Stalin; after all, he knows how Stalin had fought. It will be difficult for Comrade Voroshilov to undertake this, but it would be good if he did it. Everyone will approve of it, both the people and the party. Even his grandsons will thank him. (Prolonged applause.)

In speaking about the events of the October Revolution and about the civil war, the impression was created that Stalin always played the main role, as if everywhere and always Stalin had suggested to Lenin what to do and how to do it. However, this is slander to Lenin. (Prolonged applause.)

I will probably not sin against the truth when I say that probably 99 percent of the persons present here heard and knew very little about Stalin before the year 1924, while Lenin was known to all; he was known to the whole party, to the whole nation, from the children to the graybeards. (Tumultuous, prolonged applause.)

All this has to be thoroughly revised, so that history, literature, and the fine arts properly reflect V.I. Lenin's role and the great deeds of our Communist Party and of the Soviet people — the creative people. (Applause.)

Comrades! The cult of the individual has caused the employment of faulty principles in party work and in economic activity, it brought about rude violation of internal party and Soviet democracy, sterile administration, deviations of all sorts, covering up of short comings and varnishing of reality. Our nation gave birth to many flatterers and specialists in false optimism and deceit.

We should also not forget that due to the numerous arrests of party, Soviet and economic leaders, many workers began to work uncertainly, showed over-cautiousness, feared all which was new, feared their own shadows and began to see less initiative in their work....

Stalin's reluctance to consider life's realities and the fact that he was not aware of the real state of affairs in the provinces can be illustrated by his direction of agriculture.

All those who interested themselves even a little in the national situation saw the difficult situation in agriculture, but Stalin never even noted it. Did we tell Stalin about this? Yes, we told him, but he did not support us. Why? Because Stalin never travelled anywhere, did not meet city and *kolkhoz* workers; he did not know the actual situation in the provinces.

He knew the country and agriculture only from films. And these films had dressed up and beautified the existing situation in agriculture....

Vladimir Ilyich Lenin looked at life differently; he was always close to the people; he used to receive peasant delegates, and often spoke at factory gatherings; he used to visit villages and talk with the peasants.

Stalin separated himself from the people and never went anywhere. This lasted tens of years. The last time he visited a village was in January 1928 when he visited Siberia in connection with grain deliveries. How then could he have known the situation in the provinces?...

Comrades! If we sharply criticize today the cult of the individual which was so widespread during Stalin's life and if we speak about the many negative phenomena generated by this cult which is so alien to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism, various persons may ask: How could it be? Stalin headed the party and the country for thirty years and many victories were gained during his lifetime. Can we deny this? In my opinion, the question can be asked in this manner only by those who are blinded and hopelessly hypnotized by the cult of the individual, only by those who do not understand the essence of the revolution and of the Soviet state, only by those who do not understand, in

a Leninist manner, the role of the party and of the nation in the development of the Soviet society.

The Socialist Revolution was attained by the working class and by the poor peasantry with the partial support of the middle-class peasants. It was attained by the people under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party. Lenin's great service consisted of the fact that he created a militant party of the working class, but he was armed with Marxist understanding of the laws of social development and with the science of proletarian victory in the fight with capitalism, and he steeled this party in the crucible of revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people.

During this fight the party consistently defended the interests of the people, became its experienced leader, and led the working masses to power, to the creation of the first socialist state....

Our historical victories were attained thanks to the organizational work of the party, to the many provincial organizations, and to the self-sacrificing work of our great nation. These victories are the result of the great drive and activity of the nation and of the party as a whole; they are not at all the fruit of the leadership of Stalin, as the situation was pictured during the period of the cult of the individual....

In the last years, when we managed to free ourselves of the harmful practice of the cult of the individual and took several proper steps in the sphere of internal and external policies, everyone saw how activity grew before their very eyes, how the creative activity of the broad working masses developed, how favorably all of this acted upon the development of economy and of culture. (Applause.)....

Comrades: We must abolish the cult of the individual decisively, once and for all; we must draw the proper conclusions concerning both ideological-theoretical and practical work. It is necessary for this purpose:

First, in a Bolshevik manner to condemn and to eradicate the cult of the individual as alien to Marxism-Leninism and not consonant with the principles of party leadership and the norms of party life, and to fight inexorably all attempts at bringing back this practice in one form or another.

To return to and actually practice in all our ideological work the most important theses of Marxist-Leninist science about the people as the creator of history and as the creator of all material and spiritual good of humanity, about the decisive role of the Marxist party in the revolutionary fight for the transformation of society, about the victory of communism.

In this connection we will be forced to do much work in order to examine critically from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and to correct the widely spread erroneous views connected with the cult of the individual in the sphere of history, philosophy, economy and of the other sciences, as well as in literature and the fine arts. It is especially necessary that in the immediate future we compile a serious textbook of the history of our party which will be edited in accordance with the scientific Marxist objectivism, a textbook of the history of Soviet society, a book pertaining to the events of the civil war and the Great Patriotic War.

Secondly, to continue systematically and consistently the work done by the party's Central Committee during the last ten years, a work characterized by minute observation in all party organizations, from the bottom to the top, of the Leninist principles of party leadership, characterized, above all, by the main principle of collective leadership, characterized by the observation of the norms of party life described in the statutes of our party, and finally, characterized by the wide practice of criticism and self-criticism.

Thirdly, to restore completely the Leninist principles of Soviet socialist democracy, expressed in the Constitution of the Soviet Union, to fight willfulness of individuals abusing their power. The evil caused by acts violating revolutionary socialist legality which have accumulated during a long time as a result of the negative influence of the cult of the individual has to be completely corrected.

Comrades! The 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has manifested with a new strength the unshakable unity of our party, its cohesiveness around the Central Committee, its resolute will to accomplish the great task of building communism. (Tumultuous applause.)....

42

Constitution of the Russian Federation

(Below is the abbreviated text of the constitution approved by Russian voters in a national referendum in December 1993. Not included are the chapters that deal with the Federal Assembly, the government of the federation, the judiciary, local government, and constitutional amendments and revisions.)

We, the multinational people of the Russian Federation, united by a common destiny on our land, asserting human rights and liberties, civil peace and accord, preserving the historic unity of the state, proceeding from the commonly recognized principles of equality and self-determination of the peoples honoring the memory of our ancestors, who have passed on to us love of and respect for our homeland and faith in good and justice, reviving the sovereign statehood of Russia and asserting its immutable democratic foundations, striving to secure the well-being and prosperity of Russia and proceeding from a sense of responsibility for our homeland before the present and future generations, and being aware of ourselves as part of the world community, hereby approve the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Chapter 1. Fundamentals of the Constitutional System

Article 1. The Russian Federation — Russia shall be a democratic federal rule-of-law state with the republican form of government. The names "Russian Federation" and "Russia" shall be equivalent.

Article 2. Man, his rights and freedoms shall be the supreme value. It shall be a duty of the state to recognize, respect and protect the rights and liberties of man and citizen.

Article 3. 1. The multinational people of the Russian Federation shall be the vehicle of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation. 2. The people of the Russian Federation shall exercise their power directly, and also through organs of state power and local self-government. 3. The referendum and free elections shall be the supreme direct manifestation of the power of the people. 4. No one may arrogate to oneself power in the Russian Federation. Seizure of power or appropriation of power authorization shall be prosecuted under federal law.

Article 4. 1. The sovereignty of the Russian Federation shall apply to its entire territory. 2. The Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws shall have supremacy throughout the entire territory of the Russian Federation. 3. The Russian Federation shall ensure the integrity and inviolability of its territory.

Article 5. 1. The Russian Federation shall consist of republics, territories, regions, federal cities, an autonomous region and autonomous areas, which shall be equal subjects of the Russian Federation. 2. The republic (state) shall have its own constitution and legislation. A territory, region, federal city, autonomous region and autonomous area shall have its own charter and legislation. 3. The federated structure of the Russian Federation shall be based on its state integrity, the uniform system of state power, delimitation of scopes of authority and powers between the bodies of state power of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, equality and self-determination of the peoples in the Russian Federation. 4. All the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be equal among themselves in relations with the Federal bodies of state power.

Article 6. 1. Citizenship of the Russian Federation shall be acquired and terminated in accordance with the Federal law, and shall be one and equal irrespective of the grounds on which it has been acquired. 2. Every citizen of the Russian Federation shall have all the rights and liberties on its territory and bear equal duties, stipulated by the Constitution of the Russian Federation. 3. A citizen of the Russian Federation may not be stripped of citizenship or of the right to change it.

Article 7. 1. The Russian Federation shall be a social state, whose policies shall be aimed at creating conditions which ensure a dignified life and free development of man. 2. The Russian Federation shall protect the work and health of its people, establish a guaranteed minimum wage, provide state support for family, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood, and also for the disabled and for elderly citizens, develop a system of social services and establish government pensions, benefits and other social security guarantees.

Article 8. 1. Unity of economic space, free

movement of goods, services and financial resources, support for competition and freedom of any economic activity shall be guaranteed in the Russian Federation. 2. Private, state, municipal and other forms of ownership shall be recognized and shall enjoy equal protection in the Russian Federation.

Article 9. 1. The land and other natural resources shall be used and protected in the Russian Federation as the basis of the life and activity of the peoples living on their respective territories. 2. The land and other natural resources may be in private, state municipal and other forms of ownership.

Article 10. State power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised on the basis of the separation of the legislative, executive and judiciary branches. The bodies of legislative, executive and judiciary powers shall be independent.

Article 11. 1. State power in the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the President of the Russian Federation, the Federal Assembly (Council of the Federation and State Duma), the government of the Russian Federation and courts of the Russian Federation. 2. State power in the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be exercised by the organs of state authority formed by them. 3. The scopes of authority and powers of the bodies of state authority of the Russian Federation and the bodies of state authority of the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be delimited under this Constitution, Federal and other Treaties on the delimitation of scopes of authority and powers.

Article 12. Local self-government shall be recognized and guaranteed in the Russian Federation. Local self-government shall operate independently within the bounds of its authority. The bodies of local self-government shall not be part of the state power bodies.

Article 13. 1. Ideological plurality shall be recognized in the Russian Federation. 2. No ideology may be instituted as a state-sponsored or mandatory ideology. 3. Political plurality and the multi-party system shall be recognized in the Russian Federation. 4. Public associations shall be equal before the law. 5. The establishment and the activities of public associations, whose aims and actions are directed at forcible alteration of the fundamentals of constitutional governance and violation of the integrity of the Russian Federation and undermining of the security of the state, the forming of armed units, the incitement of social, racial, national and religious strife shall be prohibited.

Article 14. 1. The Russian Federation shall be a secular state. No religion may be instituted as state-sponsored or mandatory religion. 2. Religious associations shall be separated from the state, and shall be equal before the law.

Article 15. 1. The Constitution of the Russian Federation shall have supreme legal force and direct effect, and shall be applicable throughout the entire territory of the Russian Federation. Laws and other legal acts adopted by the Russian Federation may not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation. 2. Organs of state power and local self-government, officials, citizens and their associations must comply with the laws and the Constitution of the Russian Federation. 3. The laws shall be officially published. Unpublished laws shall not be applicable. No regulatory legal act affecting the rights, liberties or duties of the human being and citizen may apply unless it has been published officially for general knowledge.

4. The commonly recognized principles and norms of the international law and the international treaties of the Russian Federation shall be a component part of its legal system. If an international treaty of the Russian Federation stipulates other rules than those stipulated by the law, the rules of the international treaty shall apply.

Article 16. 1. The provisions of the present Chapter of the Constitution shall be the foundations of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation and may not be changed except as provided for in this Constitution. 2. No other provisions of this Constitution may contravene the foundations of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation.

Chapter 2. Rights and Liberties of Man and Citizen

Article 17. 1. The basic rights and liberties in conformity with the commonly recognized principles and norms of the international law shall be recognized and guaranteed in the Russian Federation and under this Constitution.

2. The basic rights and liberties of the human being shall be inalienable and shall belong to everyone from birth. 3. The exercise of rights and liberties of a

human being and citizen may not violate the rights and liberties of other persons.

Article 18. The rights and liberties of man and citizen shall have direct effect. They shall determine the meaning, content and application of the laws, and the activities of the legislative and executive branches and local self-government, and shall be secured by the judiciary.

Article 19. 1. All people shall be equal before the law and in the court of law. 2. The state shall guarantee the equality of rights and liberties regardless of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, property or employment status, residence, attitude to religion, convictions, membership of public associations or any other circumstance. Any restrictions of the rights of citizens on social, racial, national, linguistic or religious grounds shall be forbidden. 3. Man and woman shall have equal rights and liberties and equal opportunities for their pursuit.

Article 20. 1. Everyone shall have the right to life. 2. Capital punishment may, until its abolition, be instituted by the federal law as exceptional punishment for especially grave crimes against life, with the accused having the right to have his case considered in a law court by jury.

Article 21. 1. The dignity of the person shall be protected by the state. No circumstance may be used as a pretext for belittling it. 2. No one may be subjected to torture, violence or any other harsh or humiliating treatment or punishment. No one may be subjected to medical, scientific or other experiments without his or her free consent.

Article 22. 1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom and personal inviolability. 2. Arrest, detention and keeping in custody shall be allowed only by an order of a court of law. No person may be detained for more than 48 hours without an order of a court of law.

Article 23. 1. Everyone shall have the right to privacy, to personal and family secrets, and to protection of one's honor and good name. 2. Everyone shall have the right to privacy of correspondence, telephone communications, mail, cables and other communications. Any restriction of this right shall be allowed only under an order of a court of law.

Article 24. 1. It shall be forbidden to gather, store, use and disseminate information on the private life of any person without his/her consent. 2. The bodies of state authority and the bodies of local self-government and the officials thereof shall provide to each citizen access to any documents and materials directly affecting his/her rights and liberties unless otherwise stipulated under the law.

Article 25. The home shall be inviolable. No one shall have the right to enter the home against the will of persons residing in it except in cases stipulated by the federal law or under an order of a court of law.

Article 26. 1. Everyone shall have the right to determine and state his national identity. No one can be forced to determine and state his national identity. 2. Everyone shall have the right to use his native language, freely choose the language of communication, education, training and creative work.

Article 27. 1. Everyone who is lawfully staying on the territory of the Russian Federation shall have the right to freedom of movement and to choose the place to stay and reside. 2. Everyone shall be free to leave the boundaries of the Russian Federation. The citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to freely return into the Russian Federation.

Article 28. Everyone shall be guaranteed the right to freedom of conscience, to freedom of religious worship, including the right to profess, individually or jointly with others, any religion, or to profess no religion, to freely choose, possess and disseminate religious or other beliefs, and to act in conformity with them.

Article 29. 1. Everyone shall have the right to freedom of thought and speech. 2. Propaganda or campaigning inciting social, racial, national or religious hatred and strife is impermissible. The propaganda of social, racial, national, religious or language superiority is forbidden. 3. No one may be coerced into expressing one's views and convictions or into renouncing them. 4. Everyone shall have the right to seek, get, transfer, produce and disseminate information by any lawful means. The list of information constituting the state secret shall be established by the federal law. 5. The freedom of the mass media shall be guaranteed. Censorship shall be prohibited.

Article 30. 1. Everyone shall have the right to association, including the right to create trade unions in order to protect one's interests. The freedom of public associations activities shall be guaranteed. 2.

No one may be coerced into joining any association or into membership thereof.

Article 31. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to gather peacefully, without weapons, and to hold meetings, rallies, demonstrations, marches and pickets.

Article 32. 1. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to participate in the administration of the affairs of the state both directly and through their representatives. 2. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to elect and to be elected to bodies of state governance and to organs of local self-government, as well as take part in a referendum. 3. Citizens who have been found by a court of law to be under special disability, and also citizens placed in detention under a court verdict, shall not have the right to elect or to be elected. 4. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have equal access to state service. 5. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to participate in administering justice.

Article 33. Citizens of the Russian Federation shall have the right to turn personally to, and send individual and collective petitions to state bodies and bodies of local self-government.

Article 34. 1. Everyone shall have the right to freely use his or her abilities and property for entrepreneurial or any other economic activity not prohibited by the law. 2. No economic activity aimed at monopolization or unfair competition shall be allowed.

Article 35. 1. The right of private property shall be protected by law. 2. Everyone shall have the right to have property in his or her ownership, to possess, use and manage it either individually or jointly with other persons. 3. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of his or her property unless on the basis of decision by a court of law. Property can be forcibly alienated for state needs only on condition of a preliminary and equal compensation. 4. The right of inheritance shall be guaranteed.

Article 36. 1. Citizens and their associations shall have the right to have land in their private ownership. 2. The possession, use and management of the land and other natural resources shall be freely exercised by their owners provided this does not cause damage to the environment or infringe upon the rights and interests of other persons. 3. The terms and procedures for the use of land shall be determined on the basis of federal laws.

Article 37. 1. Work shall be free. Everyone shall have the right to make free use of his or her abilities for work and to choose a type of activity and occupation. 2. Forced labor shall be prohibited. 3. Everyone shall have the right to work under conditions meeting the requirements of safety and hygiene, to remuneration for work without any discrimination whatsoever and not below the statutory minimum wage, and also the right to security against unemployment. 4. The right to individual and collective labor disputes with the use of means of resolution thereof established by federal law, including the right to strike, shall be recognized. 5. Everyone shall have the right to rest and leisure. A person having a work contract shall be guaranteed the statutory duration of the work time, days off and holidays, and paid annual vacation.

Article 38. 1. Motherhood and childhood, and the family shall be under state protection. 2. Care for children and their upbringing shall be the equal right and duty of the parents. 3. Employable children who have reached 18 years old shall care for their non-employable parents.

Article 39. 1. Everyone shall be guaranteed social security in old age, in case of disease, invalidity, loss of breadwinner, to bring up children and in other cases established by law. 2. State pensions and social benefits shall be established by laws. 3. Voluntary social insurance, development of additional forms of social security and charity shall be encouraged.

Article 40. 1. Everyone shall have the right to a home. No one may be arbitrarily deprived of a home. 2. State bodies and organs of local self-government shall encourage home construction and create conditions for the realization of the right to a home. 3. Low-income citizens and other citizens, defined by the law, who are in need of housing shall be housed free of charge or for affordable pay from government, municipal and other housing funds in conformity with the norms stipulated by the law.

Article 41. 1. Everyone shall have the right to health care and medical assistance. Medical assistance shall be made available by state and municipal health car 2. The Russian Federation shall finance federal health care and health-building programs, take measures to develop state, municipal and private

health care systems, encourage activities contributing to the strengthening of the man's health, to the development of physical culture and sport, and to ecological, sanitary and epidemiologic welfare. 3. Concealment by officials of facts and circumstances posing hazards to human life and health shall involve liability in conformity with the federal law.

Article 42. Everyone shall have the right to a favorable environment, reliable information about its condition and to compensation for the damage caused to his or her health or property by ecological violations.

Article 43. 1. Everyone shall have the right to education. 2. The accessibility and gratuity of pre-school, general secondary and vocational secondary education in public and municipal educational institutions and enterprises shall be guaranteed. 3. Everyone shall have the right to receive, free of charge and on a competitive basis, higher education in a state or municipal educational institution or enterprise. 4. Basic general education shall be mandatory. Parents or persons substituting for them shall make provisions for their children to receive basic general education. 5. The Russian Federation shall institute federal state educational standards and support various forms of education and self-education.

Article 44. 1. Everyone shall be guaranteed freedom of literary, artistic, scientific, intellectual and other types of creative activity and tuition. Intellectual property shall be protected by the law. 2. Everyone shall have the right to participation in cultural life, to the use of institutions of culture, and access to cultural values. 3. Everyone shall care for the preservation of the historic and cultural heritage and safeguard landmarks of history and culture.

Article 45. 1. State protection for human rights and liberties in the Russian Federation shall be guaranteed. 2. Everyone shall have the right to defend his or her rights and liberties by any means not prohibited by the law.

Article 46. 1. Everyone shall be guaranteed protection of his or her rights and liberties in a court of law. 2. The decisions and actions (or inaction) of state organs, organs of local self-government, public associations and officials may be appealed against in a court of law 3. In conformity with the international treaties of the Russian Federation, everyone shall have the right to turn to interstate organs concerned with the protection of human rights and liberties when all the means of legal protection available within the state have been exhausted.

Article 47. 1. No one may be denied the right to having his or her case reviewed by the court and the judge under whose jurisdiction the given case falls under the law. 2. Anyone charged with a crime has the right to have his or her case reviewed by a court of law with the participation of jurors in cases stipulated by the federal law.

Article 48. 1. Everyone shall be guaranteed the right to qualified legal counsel. Legal counsel shall be provided free of charge in cases stipulated by the law. 2. Every person who has been detained, taken into custody or charged with a crime shall have the right to legal counsel (defense attorney) from the moment of, respectively, detention or indictment.

Article 49. 1. Everyone charged with a crime shall be considered not guilty until his or her guilt has been proven in conformity with the procedures stipulated by the federal law and established by the verdict of a court of law. 2. The defendant shall not be obliged to prove his or her innocence. 3. The benefit of doubt shall be interpreted in favor of the defendant.

Article 50. 1. No one may be repeatedly convicted for the same offense. 2. In the administration of justice no evidence obtained in violation of the federal law shall be allowed. 3. Everyone sentenced for a crime shall have the right to have the sentence reviewed by a higher court according to the procedure instituted by the federal law, and also the right to plea for clemency or mitigation punishment.

Article 51. 1. No one shall be obliged to give evidence against himself or herself, for his or her spouse and close relatives, the range of which shall be established by federal law 2. The federal law may stipulate other exemptions from the obligation to give evidence.

Article 52. The rights of persons who have sustained harm from crimes and abuses of power shall be protected by the law. The state shall guarantee the victims access to justice and compensation for damage.

Article 53. Everyone shall have the right to compensation by the state for the damage caused by unlawful actions (or inaction) of state organs, or their officials.

Article 54. 1. The law instituting or aggravating the liability of a person shall have no retroactive force. 2. No one may be held liable for an action which was not recognized as an offense at the time of its commitment. If liability for an offense has been lifted or mitigated after its perpetration, the new law shall apply.

Article 55. 1. The listing of the basic rights and liberties in the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall not be interpreted as the denial or belittlement of the other commonly recognized human and citizens' rights and liberties. 2. No laws denying or belittling human and civil rights and liberties may be is sued in the Russian Federation. 3. Human and civil rights and liberties may be restricted by the federal law only to the extent required for the protection of the fundamentals of the constitutional system, morality, health, rights and lawful interests of other persons, for ensuring the defense of the country and the security of the state.

Article 56. 1. Individual restrictions of rights and liberties with identification of the extent and term of their duration may be instituted in conformity with the federal constitutional law under conditions of the state of emergency in order to ensure the safety of citizens and protection of the constitutional system. 2. A state of emergency throughout the territory of the Russian Federation and in individual areas thereof may be introduced in the circumstances and in conformity with the procedures defined by the federal constitutional law. 3. The rights and liberties stipulated by Articles 20, 21, 23 (part 1), 24, 28, 34 (part 1), 40 (part 1), 46-54 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation shall not be subject to restriction.

Article 57. Everyone shall pay lawful taxes and fees. Laws introducing new taxes or worsening the situation of tax payers shall not have retroactive force.

Article 58. Everyone shall be obliged to preserve nature and the environment, and care for natural wealth.

Article 59. 1. Defense of the homeland shall be a duty and obligation of the citizen of the Russian Federation. 2. The citizen of the Russian Federation shall do military service inconformity with the federal law. 3. The citizen of the Russian Federation whose convictions and faith are at odds with military service, and also in other cases stipulated by the federal laws

Article 60. The citizen of the Russian Federation shall be recognized to be of legal age and may independently exercise his rights and duties in full upon reaching the age of 18.

Article 61. 1. The citizen of the Russian Federation may not be deported out of Russia or extradited to another state. 2. The Russian Federation shall guarantee its citizens defense and patronage beyond its boundaries.

Article 62. 1. The citizen of the Russian Federation may have the citizenship of a foreign state (dual citizenship) in conformity with the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation. 2. Possession of the citizenship of a foreign state by the citizen of the Russian Federation shall not belittle his or her ranks and liberties or exempt him or her from the duties stemming from Russian citizenship unless otherwise stipulated by the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation. 3. Foreign citizens and stateless persons shall enjoy in the Russian Federation the rights of its citizens and bear their duties with the exception of cases stipulated by the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation.

Article 63. 1. The Russian Federation shall grant political asylum to foreign citizens and stateless citizens in conformity with the commonly recognized norms of the international law. 2. The extradition of persons persecuted for their political views or any actions (or inaction), which are not qualified as criminal by the law of the Russian Federation, to other states shall not be allowed in the Russian Federation. The extradition of persons charged with crimes and also the hand-over of convicts for serving time in other countries shall be effected on the basis of the federal law or international treaty of the Russian Federation.

Article 64. The provisions of these articles form the basis of personal rights in the Russian Federation and may not be changed other than by the means set forth in this constitution

Chapter 3. Russian Federation

Article 65. 1. The Russian Federation shall consist of the subjects of the Federation: Republic of Adygeya (Adygeya), Republic of Altai, Republic of Bashkortostan, Republic of Buryatia, Republic of Dagestan, Ingush Republic, Kabardin-Balkar Republic, Republic of Kalmykia — Khalmg Tangch, Karachayevo-Cherkess Republic, Republic of Karelia,

Republic of Komi, Republic of Mari El, Republic of Mordovia, Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), Republic of North Ossetia, Republic of Tatarstan (Tatarstan), Republic of Tuva, Udmurt Republic, Republic of Khakasia, Chechen Republic, Chuvash Republic — Chavash Republics; Altai Territory, Krasnodar Territory, Krasnoyarsk Territory, Maritime Territory, Stavropol Territory, Khabarovsk Territory; Amur Region, Arkhangelsk Region, Astrakhan Region, Belgorod Region, Bryansk Region, Vladimir Region, Volgograd Region, Vologda Region, Voronezh Region, Ivanovo Region, Irkutsk Region, Kaliningrad Region, Kaluga Region, Kamchatka Region, Kemerovo Region, Kirov Region, Kostroma Region, Kurgan Region, Kursk Region, Leningrad Region, Lipetsk Region, Magadan Region, Moscow Region, Murmansk Region, Nizhny Novgorod Region, Novgorod Region, Novosibirsk Region, Omsk Region, Orenburg Region, Oryol Region, Penza Region, Perm Region, Pskov Region , Rostov Region, Ryazan Region, Samara Region, Saratov Region, Sakhalin Region, Sverdlovsk Region, Smolensk Region, Tambov Region, Tver Region, Tomsk Region, Tula Relation, Tyumen Region, Ulyanovsk Region, Chelyabinsk Region, Chita Region, Yaroslavl Region; Moscow, St. Petersburg — federal cities; Jewish Autonomous Region; Aginsky Buryat Autonomous Area, Komi-Permyak Autonomous Area , Koryak Autonomous Area, Nenets Autonomous Area, Taimyr (Dolgan-Nenets) Autonomous Area, Ust-Ordynsky Buryat Autonomous Area, Khanty-Mansi Autonomous Area, Chukchi Autonomous Area, Evenk Autonomous Area, Yamal-Nenets Autonomous Area. 2. Accession to the Russian Federation and formation of a new subject of the Russian Federation within it shall be carried out as envisaged by the federal constitutional law.

Article 66. 1. The status of a republic shall be defined by the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the constitution of the republic in question. 2. The status of a territory, region, federal city, and autonomous region and autonomous area shall be determined by Constitution of the Russian Federation and the Charter of the territory, region, city of federal importance, autonomous region, autonomous area, adopted by the legislative (representative) body of the relevant subject of the Russian Federation. 3. A federal law on autonomous region, autonomous area may be adopted at the nomination from the legislative and executive bodies of an autonomous region, autonomous area. 4. Relations between autonomous areas within a territory or region may be regulated by the federal law and an agreement between bodies of state power of the autonomous area and, respectively, bodies of state power of the territory or the region. 5. The status of a subject of the Russian Federation may be changed only with mutual consent of the Russian Federation and the subject of the Russian Federation in accordance with the federal constitutional law.

Article 67. 1. The territory of the Russian Federation shall incorporate the territories of its subjects, the internal and territorial seas and the air space over them. 2. The Russian Federation shall have sovereign rights and exercise jurisdiction on the continental shelf and in the exclusive economic zone of the Russian Federation under the procedure stipulated by the federal law and norms of international law. 3. The boundaries between the subjects of the Russian Federation may be changed by their mutual agreement.

Article 68. 1. The state language of the Russian Federation throughout its territory shall be the Russian language. 2. The republics shall have the right to institute their own state languages. They shall be used alongside the state language of the Russian Federation in bodies of state power, bodies of local self-government and state institutions of the republics. 3. The Russian Federation shall guarantee all its peoples the right to preserve their native language and to create the conditions for its study and development.

Article 69. The Russian Federation guarantees the rights of small indigenous peoples in accordance with the generally accepted principles and standards of international law and international treaties of the Russian Federation.

Article 70. 1. The national flag, State Emblem, and the national anthem, their description and the procedure for their official use shall be established by the federal constitutional law. 2. The capital of the Russian Federation is the city of Moscow. The status of the capital shall be established by the federal law.

Article 71. The jurisdiction of the Russian Federation shall include: a) the adoption and amendment of the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws and supervision over

compliance with them; b) the federal structure and territory of the Russian Federation; c) regulation and protection of the rights and liberties of the human being and citizen; citizenship of the Russian Federation; regulation and protection of the rights of national minorities; d) establishment of the system of federal bodies of legislative, executive and judiciary power, procedure for the organization and activities thereof; formation of federal bodies of state power; e) federal and state property and management thereof; f) determining the basic principles of federal policy and federal programs in the field of state structure, the economy, the environment, and the social, cultural and national development of the Russian Federation; g) establishment of the legal framework for a single market; financial, monetary, credit and customs regulation, emission of money and guidelines for price policy; federal economic services, including federal banks; h) the federal budget; federal taxes and levies; federal funds of regional development; i) federal power g rids, nuclear energy, fissionable materials; federal transport, railways, information and communications; space activities; j) foreign policy and international relations of the Russian Federation, international treaties of the Russian questions of war and peace; k) foreign trade relations of the Russian Federation; l) defense and security; defense production; determining procedures for the sale and purchase of arms, ammunition, military hardware and other equipment; production of fissionable materials, toxic substances, narcotics and procedure for the use thereof; m) defining the status and protection of the state border, territorial waters, the air space, the exclusive economic zone and the continental shelf of the Russian Federation; n) law courts; Prosecutor's Office; criminal, criminal-procedural and criminal-executive legislation; amnesty and pardon; civil, civil-procedural and arbitration-procedural legislation; legal regulation of intellectual property; o) federal conflict of laws; p) meteorological service; standards, models, the metric system and time measurement; geodesy and cartography; names of geographical objects; official statistics and accounting; q) state decorations and honorary titles of the Russian Federation; r) federal state service.

Article 72. 1. The joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation shall include: a) ensuring compliance of the constitutions and laws of the republics, charters, laws, and other regulatory legal acts of the territories, regions, federal cities, the autonomous region and autonomous areas with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and the federal laws; b) protection of the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, protection of the rights of ethnic minorities; ensuring legality, law and order, and public safety; border zone regime; c) issues of the possession, use and management of the land, mineral resources, water and other natural resources; d) delimitation of state property; e) management of natural resources, protection of the environment and ecological safety; specially protected natural reserves; protection of historical and cultural monuments; f) general questions of upbringing, education, science, culture, physical culture and sports; g) coordination of health issues, protection of family, motherhood, fatherhood and childhood; social protection including social security; h) implementing measures to combat catastrophes, natural disasters, epidemics and eliminating consequences thereof; i) establishment of the general guidelines for taxation and levies in the Russian Federation; j) administrative, administrative-procedural, labor, family, housing, land, water and forestry legislation; legislation on the sub-surface and environmental protection; k) cadres of judiciary and law-enforcement agencies; the bar, notariate; l) protection of the original environment and traditional way of life of small ethnic communities; m) establishment of general guidelines of the organization of the system of bodies of state power and local self-government; n) coordination of the international and external economic relations of the subjects of the Russian Federation, compliance with the international treaties of the Russian Federation. 2. The provisions of this Article shall equally apply to the republics, territories, regions, federal cities, the autonomous region and autonomous areas.

Article 73. Outside of the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the powers of the Russian Federation on issues within the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation, the subjects of the Russian Federation shall exercise the entire spectrum of state power.

Article 74. 1. No customs frontiers, duties, levies, or any other barriers for free movement of goods,

services, or financial means may be established on the territory of the Russian Federation. 2. Restrictions on the movement of goods and services may be established under the federal law, if this is necessary for the protection of the people's safety , their lives and health, protection of environment and cultural values.

Article 75. 1. The monetary unit of the Russian Federation shall be the ruble. The monetary emission shall be the exclusive responsibility of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation. No other currencies may be issued in the Russian Federation. 2. The protection and stability of the ruble is the main function of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation which it shall exercise independently from other bodies of state power. 3. The system of taxes levied to the federal budget and the general principles of taxation and levies in the Russian Federation shall be established by the federal law. 4. State loans shall be issued in accordance with the procedure established by the federal law and placed on a strictly voluntary basis.

Article 76. 1. On issues within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation federal constitutional laws and federal laws shall be adopted having direct effect throughout the territory of the Russian Federation. 2. On matters within the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation federal laws shall be issued and in accordance with them laws and other regulatory legal acts of the subjects of the Russian Federation shall be adopted. 3. Federal laws may not contravene federal constitutional laws. 4. Outside of the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation republics, territories, regions, federal cities, autonomous regions and autonomous areas shall effect their own legal regulation, including the adopt ion of laws and other regulatory legal acts. 5. Laws and other regulatory legal acts of the subjects of the Russian Federation may not contravene federal laws adopted in accordance with parts 1 and 2 of this Article. In the event of a contradiction between a federal law and any other act issued in the Russian Federation, the federal law shall apply. 6. In the event of a contradiction between the federal law and a regulatory legal act of a subject of the Russian Federation issued in accordance with part 4 of this Article, the regulatory legal act of the subject of the Russian Federation shall apply.

Article 77.1. The system of state power bodies of the republics, territories, regions, federal cities, the autonomous region, autonomous areas shall be established by the subjects of the Russian Federation independently in accordance with the basic principles of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation and general principles of the organization of legislative and executive bodies of power as envisaged by the federal law. 2. Within the jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the powers of the Russian Federation on issues within the joint jurisdiction of the Russian Federation and the subjects of the Russian Federation the federal bodies of executive power and bodies of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation shall form the single system of executive power in the Russian Federation.

Article 78. 1. To exercise their powers, the federal bodies of executive power may set up their own territorial structures and appoint respective officials. 2. By agreement with organs of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, the federal organs of executive power may delegate to them part of their powers provided this does not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation or federal laws. 3. By agreement with the federal organs of executive power, organs of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation may delegate part of their powers to them. 4. The President of the Russian Federation and the government of the Russian Federation shall, under the Constitution of the Russian Federation, exercise the authority of federal state power throughout the territory of the Russian Federation.

Article 79. The Russian Federation may participate in inter-state associations and delegate some of its powers to them in accordance with international agreements if this does not restrict human or civil rights and liberties or contravene the fundamentals of the constitutional system of the Russian Federation.

Chapter 4. President of the Russian Federation

Article 80. 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall be the head of state. 2. The President shall be the guarantor of the Constitution of the

Russian Federation, and of human and civil rights and freedoms. In accordance with the procedure established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation, he shall take measures to protect the sovereignty of the Russian Federation, its independence and state integrity, and ensure concerted functioning and interaction of all bodies of state power. 3. The President of the Russian Federation shall define the basic domestic and foreign policy guidelines of the state in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws. 4. The President of the Russian Federation as head of state shall represent the Russian Federation inside the country and in international relations.

Article 81. 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall be elected for a term of four years by the citizens of the Russian Federation on the basis of general, equal and direct vote by secret ballot. 2. A citizen of the Russian Federation not younger than 35, who has resided in the Russian Federation for not less than 10 years, may be elected President of the Russian Federation. 3. No one person shall hold the office of President of the Russian Federation f or more than two terms in succession. 4. The procedure for electing the President of the Russian Federation shall be determined by federal law.

Article 82. 1. At his inauguration the President of the Russian Federation shall take the following oath to the people: "I vow, in the performance of my powers as the President of the Russian Federation to respect and protect the rights and freedoms of man and citizen, to observe and protect the Constitution of the Russian Federation, to protect the sovereignty and independence, security and integrity of the state and to serve the people faithfully." 2. The oath shall be taken in a solemn atmosphere in the presence of members of the Council of the Federation, deputies of the State Duma and judges of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation.

Article 83. The President of the Russian Federation shall: a) appoint Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation subject to consent of the State Duma; b) have the right to preside over meetings of the Government of the Russian Federation; c) decide on resignation of the Government of the Russian Federation; d) introduce to the State Duma a candidature for appointment to the office of the Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation; submit to the State Duma the proposal on relieving the Chairman of the Central Bank of the Russian Federation of his duties; e) appoint and dismiss deputy chairmen of the Government of the Russian Federation and federal ministers as proposed by the Chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation; f) submit to the Federation Council candidates for appointment to the office of judges of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation, the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation and the Supreme Arbitration Court of the Russian Federation as well as the candidate for Prosecutor- General of the Russian Federation; submit to the Federation Council the proposal on relieving the Prosecutor-General of the Russian Federation of his duties; appoint the judges of other federal courts. g) form and head the Security Council of the Russian Federation, the status of which is determined by federal law; h) endorse the military doctrine of the Russian Federation; i) form the staff of the President of the Russian Federation; j) appoint and dismiss plenipotentiary representatives of the President of the Russian Federation; k) appoint and dismiss the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation; l) appoint and recall, after consultations with the respective committees or commissions of the Federal Assembly, diplomatic representatives of the Russian Federation to foreign states and international organizations.

Article 84. The President of the Russian Federation shall: a) call elections to the chambers of the State Duma in accordance with the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal law; b) dissolve the State Duma in cases and under procedures envisaged by the Constitution of the Russian Federation; c) call a referendum under procedures established by federal constitutional law; d) introduce draft laws in the State Duma; e) sign and publish federal laws; f) present annual messages to the Federal Assembly on the situation in the country and on basic directions of the internal and external policies of the state.

Article 85. 1. The President of the Russian Federation may use dispute-settlement procedures to settle differences between organs of state power of the Russian Federation and organs of state power of the subjects of the Russian Federation, and also between organs of state power of the subjects of the Russian

Federation. If no decision is agreed upon, he may turn the dispute over for review by the respective court of law. 2. The President of the Russian Federation shall have the right to suspend acts by organs of executive power of the subjects of the Russian Federation if such acts contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation and federal laws, the international obligations of the Russian Federation, or violate human and civil rights and liberties, pending the resolution of the issue in appropriate court.

Article 86. The President of the Russian Federation shall: a) supervise the conduct of the foreign policy of the Russian Federation; b) conduct negotiations and sign international treaties of the Russian Federation; c) sign instruments of ratification; d) accept credentials and instruments of recall of diplomatic representatives accredited with him.

Article 87. 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall be the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation. In the event of aggression against the Russian Federation or an immediate threat thereof, the President of the Russian Federation shall introduce martial law on the territory of the Russian Federation or in areas thereof with immediate notification thereof of the Federation Council and the State Duma.

Article 88. Under the circumstances and procedures envisaged by the Federal Constitutional Law, the President of the Russian Federation shall impose a state of emergency on the territory of the Russian Federation or in areas thereof with immediate notification of the Federation Council and the State Duma.

Article 89. The President of the Russian Federation shall: a) resolve issues of citizenship of the Russian Federation and of granting political asylum; b) award state decorations of the Russian Federation, confer honorary titles of the Russian Federation and top military ranks and top specialized titles; c) grant pardon.

Article 90. 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall issue decrees and executive orders. 2. The decrees and orders of the President of the Russian Federation shall be binding throughout the territory of the Russian Federation. 3. The decrees and orders of the President of the Russian Federation may not contravene the Constitution of the Russian Federation or federal laws.

Article 91. The President of the Russian Federation shall possess immunity.

Article 92. 1. The President of the Russian Federation shall assume his powers from the time he shall be sworn in and terminate his exercise of such powers with the expiry of his tenure of office from the time the newly-elected President of the Russian Federation shall have been sworn in. 2. The powers of the President of the Russian Federation shall be terminated in the event of his resignation or sustained inability due to health to discharge his powers or in the event of impeachment. In such cases new elections of the President of the Russian Federation shall be held not later than three months after the early termination of the President's powers. 3. In all cases when the President of the Russian Federation shall be unable to perform his duties such duties shall be temporarily performed by the chairman of the Government of the Russian Federation. The acting president of the Russia n Federation shall have no right to dissolve the State Duma, call a referendum or make proposals on amendment or revision of the provisions of the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

Article 93. 1. The President of the Russian Federation may be impeached by the Federation Council only on the basis of charges put forward against him of high treason or some other grave crime, confirmed by a ruling of the Supreme Court of the Russian Federation on the presence of indicia of crime in the President's actions and by a ruling of the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation confirming that the procedure of bringing charges has been observed. 2. The ruling of the State Duma on putting forward charges and the decision of the Federation Council on impeachment of the President shall be passed by the votes of two-thirds of the total number in each of the chambers at the initiative of at least one-third of the deputies of the State Duma and in the presence of the opinion of a special commission formed by the State Duma. 3. The decision of the Federation Council on impeaching the President of the Russian Federation shall be passed within three months of the charges being brought against the President by the State Duma. The charges against the President shall be considered to be rejected if the decision of the Federation Council shall not be passed.

Suggested Reading

Billington, James H. *Russia Transformed: Breakthrough to Hope* (New York: The Free Press, 1992). 202 pages.

Blum, Douglas W., editor. *Russia's Future* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1994). 175 pages.

Diller, Daniel C. *Russia and the Independent States* (Washington, D.C.: Congressional Quarterly, 1993). 481 pages.

Dunlop, John B. *The Rise of Russia and the Fall of the Soviet Union* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1993). 360 pages.

Ellman, Michael and Kontorovich, Vladimir, editors. *The Disintegration of the Soviet Economic System* (New York: Routledge, 1992). 281 pages.

Green, Barbara. *The Dynamics of Russian Politics: A Short History* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1994). 236 pages.

Kapuscinski, Ryszard. *Imperium* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1994). 331 pages.

Remnick, David. *Lenin's Tomb: The Last Days of the Soviet Empire* (New York: Random House, 1993). 576 pages.

Yergin, Daniel and Gustafson, Thane. *Russia in 2010 and What It Means for the World* (New York: Random House, 1993). 300 pages.

Young, Stephen W., Bee, Ron J. and Seymore II, Bruce. *One Nation Becomes Many: The Access Guide to the Former Soviet Union* (Washington, DC: ACCESS, 1992). 124 pages.

Surviving Together, a quarterly on cooperative efforts to support civil and sustainable societies in Eurasia, features a "spotlight" on an area of conflict in the FSU in each publication. For a list of back issues or information on subscriptions, contact: ISAR, 1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 301, Washington, DC 20009; (202) 387-3034.

Publications List

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula for high schools and colleges on current foreign policy issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens. All units incorporate the work of academics and policymakers from a range of perspectives and are classroom tested prior to publication. A new unit is published every three months during the academic year, and all units are updated regularly. For current information on new titles and revisions, call the Choices Education Project at (401) 863-3155 or visit the project on the World Wide Web at *http://www.brown.edu/Research/Choices/*.

Current Choices

- China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response (Revised Feb. 1996, 77 pages)
- Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role (Revised Oct. 1995, 69 pages)
- U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World (Revised April 1996, 63 pages)
- U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy (Revised March 1996, 56 pages)
- Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy (Revised March 1996, 60 pages)
- Help, Handout, or Hindrance: U.S. Support for the Developing World (June 1995, 66 pages)
- Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy (Revised July 1996, 71 pages)
- Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era (Revised Aug. 1996, 72 pages)
- Caught between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads (Sept. 1996, 62 pages)
- The Role of the United States in a Changing World (Revised Nov. 1995, 44 pages)

Decision Points in History

- A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government (August 1996, 138 pages)
- Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler (Nov. 1994, 84 pages)
- Ending the War against Japan: Science, Morality, and the Atomic Bomb (July 1995, 102 pages)
- Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II (Aug. 1994, second edition, 68 pages)
- In the Shadow of the Cold War: The Caribbean and Central America in U.S. Foreign Policy (Revised Sept. 1995, 111 pages)
- The Limits of Power: The United States in Vietnam (Nov. 1994, second edition, 119 pages)

ORDER FORM

Please send me the following material:	Price	Quantity	Subtotal
China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response	$12.00		
Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role	$12.00		
U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World	$12.00		
U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy	$12.00		
Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy	$12.00		
Help, Handout, or Hindrance: U.S. Support for the Developing World	$12.00		
Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy	$12.00		
Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era	$12.00		
Caught between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads	$12.00		
The Role of the United States in a Changing World	$12.00		
A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government	$14.00		
Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler	$12.00		
Ending the War against Japan: Science, Morality, and the Atomic Bomb	$12.00		
Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II	$12.00		
In the Shadow of the Cold War: The Caribbean and Central America in U.S. Foreign Policy	$14.00		
The Limits of Power: The United States in Vietnam	$14.00		

A teacher's resource book is included free with each unit ordered at regular price.
Classroom sets of student texts (15 or more of the same unit) are available at $5 per copy.

Subtotal _____ _____
add 7% for shipping and handling _____

TOTAL _____ _____

Make checks payable to: **Brown University**

Return to: Choices Education Project
Watson Institute for International Studies
Brown University, Box 1948
Providence, RI 02912

Name _____
School/Org _____
Street _____
City/State _____ Zip _____

Teacher's
Resource
Book

CHOICES FOR THE 21st CENTURY

Charting Russia's Future In The Post-Soviet Era

ALTERNATIVES FOR PUBLIC DEBATE
AND POLICY DEVELOPMENT

A program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr.
Institute for International Studies

Brown University, Box 1948, Providence, RI 02912

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era was developed by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project staff with the assistance of the research staff of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies, scholars at Brown University, and several other experts in the field. We wish to thank the following researchers for their invaluable input:

Deana Arsenian, *Assistant Director, Watson Institute*

Douglas W. Blum, *Associate Professor of Political Science*
Providence College

Mark Garrison, *Former Director*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

Abbott Gleason, *Professor of History*
Brown University

Leonid Kistersky, *E. L. Wiegand Distinguished Visiting Professor*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

Sergei N. Khrushchev, *Senior Visiting Scholar*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

Mark Kramer, *Research Associate*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

William Rose, *Associate Professor of Political Science*
Connecticut College

Robert Seely, *Visiting Fellow in International Studies*
Watson Institute

Stephen Shenfield, *Research Associate*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

Richard Smoke, *Research Director*
Center for Foreign Policy Development, Watson Institute

To Mary Lhowe, editorial associate at the Watson Institute, we extend additional thanks for editing this curriculum unit.

Special thanks also to the high school teachers who tested drafts of this material in their classrooms prior to publication: Don Bakker of North Eastham, Massachusetts; Candace Fisk of Springfield, Missouri; and David Weiss of Rockville Centre, New York.

Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era is part of a continuing series on current foreign policy issues. A new unit is published every three months during the academic year.

CHOICES

for the 21st Century Education Project

August 1996

Director
Susan Graseck

Curriculum Developer
Mark Malkasian

Director of School Programs
Patricia Keenan-Byrne

Coordinator of Library Program
Megan Secatore

Program Associate
Lucy Mueller

Staff Associate
Anne Campau Prout

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula for high schools and colleges on current foreign policy issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens.

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the **Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies** at Brown University.

Thomas J. Biersteker
Director

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan

About the Choices Approach ii

Note to Teachers 1

Integrating This Unit into Your Classroom 2

DAY ONE — Russia's Troubled Legacy of Reform 3

Homework (before Day One): Part I of the background reading and "Study Guide — Part I"
Homework: Part II of the background reading and "Study Guide — Part II"

DAY TWO — Coming of Age in the New Russia 6

DAY THREE — Exploring the Three Futures: Organization and Preparation 10

Homework: "Expressing Key Values"

DAY FOUR — Exploring the Three Futures: Debate and Discussion 15

Homework: "Focusing Your Thoughts"

DAY FIVE — Charting Russia's Future 17

Homework: "Dorogiye Gospada"

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan 21

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom 22

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project is a program of the Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies at Brown University. Choices was established to help citizens think constructively about foreign policy issues, to improve participatory citizenship skills, and to encourage public judgment on policy priorities.

The Thomas J. Watson Jr. Institute for International Studies was established at Brown University in 1986 to serve as a forum for students, faculty, visiting scholars, and policy practitioners, who are committed to studying global problems and developing international initiatives to benefit society.

© Copyright January 1994. Revised August 1996. Choices for the 21st Century Education Project. All rights reserved. Permission is granted to duplicate and distribute for classroom use with appropriate credit given. Copies may be ordered at $12.00 each. Address orders to: Choices Education Project, Watson Institute for International Studies, Box 1948, Brown University, Providence, RI 02912.

About the Choices Approach

Choices for the 21st Century curricula are designed to make complex international issues understandable and meaningful for students. Using an innovative approach to student-centered instruction, Choices units develop critical thinking and civic judgment — essential ingredients of responsible citizenship.

Understanding the Significance of History: Each Choices unit provides students with a thorough introduction to the topic under consideration. Students gain an understanding of the historical background and the status of current issues. In this way, they see how history has shaped our world. With this foundation, students are prepared to thoughtfully consider a variety of perspectives on public policy.

Exploring Policy Alternatives: Each Choices unit is built around a framework of alternative policy options that challenges students to consider multiple perspectives and to think critically about the issue at hand. Students are best able to understand and analyze the options through a cooperative learning/role-play activity. In groups, students explore their assigned options and plan short presentations. The setting of the role-play may be a Congressional hearing, meeting of the National Security Council, or an election campaign forum. Student groups defend their policy options and, in turn, are challenged with questions from their classmates. The ensuing debate demands analysis and evaluation of the many conflicting values, interests, and priorities reflected in the options.

Exercising Civic Judgment: Armed with fresh insights from the role-play and debate, students are challenged to articulate original, coherent policy options that reflect their own values, priorities, and goals as individuals and citizens. Students' views can be expressed in letters to Congress or the White House, editorials for the school or community newspaper, persuasive speeches, or visual presentations.

Why Use the Choices Approach? Choices curricula are informed by current educational research about how students learn best. Studies have consistently demonstrated that students of all abilities learn best when they are actively engaged with the material rather than listening passively to a lecture. Student-centered instructional activities motivate students and develop higher-order thinking skills. However, some high school educators find the transition from lecture format to student-centered instruction difficult. Lecture is often viewed as the most efficient way to cover the required material. Choices curricula offer teachers a flexible resource for covering course material while actively engaging students and developing skills in critical thinking, persuasive writing, and informed citizenship. The instructional activities that are central to Choices units can be valuable components in any teacher's repertoire of effective teaching strategies. Each Choices unit includes student readings, a framework of policy options, suggested lesson plans, and resources for structuring cooperative learning, role-plays, and simulations. Students are challenged to:

- recognize relationships between history and current issues
- analyze and evaluate multiple perspectives on an issue
- understand the internal logic of a viewpoint
- engage in informed debate
- identify and weigh the conflicting values represented by different points of view
- reflect upon personal values and priorities surrounding an issue
- develop and articulate original viewpoints on an issue
- communicate in written and oral presentations
- collaborate with peers

Teachers who use Choices units say the collaboration and interaction that take place are highly motivating for students. Opportunities abound for students to contribute their individual talents to the group presentations in the form of political cartoons, slogans, posters, or characterizations. These cooperative learning lessons invite students to take pride in their own contributions and the group product, enhancing students' self-esteem and confidence as learners. Choices units offer students with diverse abilities and learning styles the opportunity to contribute, collaborate, and achieve.

Note to Teachers

For centuries, the Russian people have wrestled with questions of identity. They have been torn between Asia and Europe, authoritarianism and liberal democracy, their attachment to the land and the attractions of the city, their spiritual richness and the pull of modern science. The struggle has produced many of the world's greatest writers, composers, and other artists. At the same time, it has resulted in a seemingly schizophrenic national character and has left deep political divisions. Today, Russia is passing through another time of troubles.

Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era draws students into the debate on Russia's identity. Unlike most units of the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project, *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* is not written from an American perspective. Rather, students are asked to see the world through Russian eyes and to contemplate Russian choices in the areas of economic development, political organization, and foreign policy.

At the core of the unit are three distinct directions, or Futures, for Russia in the coming years. Each Future is grounded in a clearly defined philosophy about Russia's place in the world and offers broad guidelines on fundamental public policy issues in Russia. By exploring a spectrum of alternatives, students gain a deeper understanding of the values and assumptions underlying Russia's ongoing political turmoil. The background reading prepares students to assess Russia's policy choices. Part I surveys four key periods of reform in Russian history, ranging from the reign of Peter the Great to the Gorbachev era. Students are called upon to weigh the implications of past reform efforts for Russia's current situation, and also to appreciate how Russians view their history. Part II reviews the momentous changes that have taken place in Russia since the collapse of the Soviet Union, focusing in particular on new political thinking, economic reform, and Russia's evolving international relations.

Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan: The Teacher's Resource Book accompanying *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* contains a day-by-day lesson plan and student activities. The unit opens with students role playing the four historical figures featured in Part I of the background reading. The next lesson calls on students to assess Russia's transformation through the eyes of Russian young people. The third and fourth days of the lesson plan involve students in a simulation in which they act as advocates for the three Futures or take on the role of Russian voters. On the fifth day, students draft a campaign platform for Russia based on their own values and beliefs. You may also find the "Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan" useful.

The lesson plan offered for *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* is a guide. Many teachers choose to devote additional time to certain activities. We hope that these suggestions help you in tailoring the unit to fit the needs of your classroom.

Integrating This Unit into Your Curriculum

Units produced by the Choices for the 21st Century Education Project are designed to be integrated into a variety of social studies courses. Below are a few ideas about where *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* might fit into your curriculum.

Forms of Government: The questions facing Russia in the post-Soviet era go far beyond the issues involving the privatization of industry or Russian relations with the West. Rather, Russians are caught up in a debate about what form of government is most appropriate for their country. Advocates of a wide spectrum of political systems — Western-style democracy, communism, fascism, and even monarchy — have entered the fray in present-day Russia. For a unit on comparative politics or the Constitutional Convention, Russia's experience serves as a compelling case study.

Economic Reform: The collapse of the Soviet economic system opened the door to free-wheeling economic experimentation in Russia. Proponents of "shock therapy" unleashed the forces of the free market in 1992. Supporters of the Soviet system stood by central planning and resisted privatization. The government of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has tinkered with monetary controls and tax policies. For students of economic theory, Russia serves as a real-world laboratory. The post-Soviet economy contains elements of unfettered capitalism, communist state planning, and almost everything in between. In addition, Russia's experience invites comparisons with China's efforts toward economic reform.

Russian Revolution: Political crisis is certainly nothing new in Russia. Parallels to Russia's current turmoil can be found at several junctures of Russian history. For high school students, a particularly engaging exercise is to compare and contrast the trials of present-day Russia with the events of the Russian Revolution. The struggle of the provisional government in 1917 to establish a democratic framework provides a springboard for examining Russia's post-Soviet transition. The political spectrum during the time of Alexander Kerensky's government offered Russians a range of choices that are often similar to those presented today.

Societies in Crisis: The 20th century contains numerous examples of modern, industrial societies that have experienced wrenching periods of crisis. For purposes of comparison, *Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era* best serves as a complement to the study of Weimar Germany, Depression-era America, and post-World War II Western Europe. In each of these cases, severe economic problems led societies to re-examine their political assumptions and reassess their roles in the world.

Russia's Troubled Legacy of Reform

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the accomplishments and failures of four periods of reform in Russian history.
- Identify the values that have shaped Russia's political development.
- Assume the roles of historical figures and articulate reasoned viewpoints from four key periods in Russian history.

Required Reading:

Before beginning the unit, students should have read Part I of the background reading (pages 1-9 in the student text) and completed "Study Guide — Part I."

Handouts:

- "Reform in Russian History" (page 5) for the historical groups.

In the Classroom:

1. Introduction — Explain to students that the unit they are beginning calls on them to wrestle with the most basic questions about the direction of Russian society. By way of comparison, ask students to consider the issues that faced the delegates to the Constitutional Convention in 1787. What was the impetus for the convention? What concerns were uppermost in the minds of the delegates? Which issues were most divisive? How do the challenges facing U.S. leaders in the 1780s compare to those confronting Russians today?

2a. Historical Groups — Form four groups of four students. Assign each of the groups a historical figure from Part I of the background reading (i.e., either Peter the Great, Alexander II, Nicholas II, or Mikhail Gorbachev). Distribute "Reform in Russian History" to each group.

2b. Audience Members — The remainder of the class should develop questions to be directed to the historical figures. Explain that the second half of Day One will follow a television talk show format, with the groups representing historical figures making brief presentations and then fielding questions from the audience. (See "Reform in Russian History.") Audience members should draw on Part I of the background reading to draft at least two questions for each historical figure. For example, an appropriate question for Nicholas II would be: *In what respect did Russian traditions impede your agricultural reforms?*

3. Managing the Simulation — After students have completed their preparations, call on the talk show hosts to take charge of the presentations for their respective groups. Remind those speaking to stay in their assigned roles. After each presentation, invite members of the audience to ask questions.

4. Guiding Discussion — After the role play, ask students to compare the four periods of reform. Were they linked by common goals? Did they confront common obstacles? What advice would each of them give Russia's leaders today? Emphasize that Russia's political development has been shaped by values that have often been substantially different from those dominating our country's political culture. For examples, ask students to compare the values motivating Peter the Great with the values guiding the first generation of U.S. leaders. How did Russia's history and geography mold the worldview of Peter the Great and his contemporaries? Likewise, how did the Russian experience in the 20th century influence the values underlying Gorbachev's *perestroika*?

Homework:

Students should read Part II of the background reading (pages 10-21 in the student text) and complete "Study Guide — Part II."

Name:

Study Guide — Part I
Learning from Russia's Past

1. What accounts for the belief held by many Russians that their country has a special mission in the world?

2. Why was Peter the Great eager to expose his country to the changes taking place in Western Europe?

3. In what ways did Russia become more Westernized under Alexander II?

4. How did Nicholas II try to control the forces pushing Russia toward revolution?

5. How did the reforms of Mikhail Gorbachev contribute to the collapse of the Soviet Union?

Reform in Russian History

Your Assignment

Your group has been given the responsibility of making a brief presentation to your classmates about an important reformer in Russian history. Your group's presentation will follow the format of a television talk show. Individual group members will explain the views of their assigned characters and then field questions from the audience. While members of your group are in front of the class, they are expected to play the role of their assigned characters.

Your group should review the section of Part I of the background reading that deals with the historical figure you have been assigned. You are also encouraged to make use of other resources, such as encyclopedias, to gather information about your historical figure.

Organizing Your Group

Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. *Talk show host:* Your job is to organize and direct the overall presentation of your group. You should plan to ask the other members of your group a few questions. The questions should be designed to allow your partners to fully explain their roles to the class. Work closely with the other members of your group to develop good questions.

2. *Historical figure:* Your job is to play the role of the historical figure assigned to your group. You will respond to questions by your group's talk show host, taking no more than three minutes for your interview. You will then field questions from the audience. Prepare yourself to discuss the reforms that took place under your regime.

3. *Supporter of historical figure:* Your job is to play the role of a supporter of the historical figure assigned to your group. You will respond to questions by your group's talk show host, taking no more than three minutes for your interview. You will then field questions from the audience. You should begin your preparations by clearly defining your role. To which social class would a supporter of your group's historical figure most likely belong? What would be his or her occupation? What would be the basis for his or her support of your group's historical figure? Prepare yourself to answer these and other questions.

4. *Opponent of historical figure:* Your job is to play the role of an opponent of the historical figure assigned to your group. You will respond to questions by your group's talk show host, taking no more than three minutes for your interview. You will then field questions from the audience. You should begin your preparations by clearly defining your role. To which social class would an opponent of your group's historical figure most likely belong? What would be his or her occupation? What would be the basis for his or her opposition to your group's historical figure? Prepare yourself to answer these and other questions.

Coming of Age in the New Russia

Objectives:

Students will:

- Assess Russia's transformation from the perspective of Russian young people.
- Analyze the employment prospects of young people in the economy of the new Russia.
- Articulate the values and attitudes of Russian youth.

Required Reading:

Students should have read Part II of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part II."

Handouts:

- "First-Hand Accounts from the New Russia" (pages 8-9).

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage — Distribute "First-Hand Accounts from the New Russia" to each student. Explain that the four excerpts featured in the first part of the handout are intended to give students an insight into the attitudes of Russian young people.

2. Through Russian Eyes — After students have read the excerpts, ask them to summarize the attitudes of the four young people featured in the handout. What are their main worries and concerns? What is their view of the political and economic changes that Russia has undergone in recent years? How is their outlook different from the outlook of recent high school graduates in the United States? Which of the four young people is most hopeful about the future? Which is likely to have the most difficulty adjusting to the new Russia?

3. Assessing the Job Market — Call on students to read the want ads in the second part of the handout through the eyes of the four young people. Ask them to respond to the ads from the perspective of Tanya, Olya, Ilya, and Lena. For example, what course of study should Tanya, Olya, Ilya, and Lena pursue to prepare themselves for the jobs listed? What are the most important skills sought by employees? What personal qualities are in greatest demand? How have their plans and expectations changed since the Soviet era? Of the four young people featured, who has the best employment prospects?

Study Guide — Part II
Exploring the New Russia

1. How do the political views of the communists and nationalists in Russia differ from those of the Yeltsin government?

2. What accounts for the setbacks of the Russian army in Chechnya? How has the war affected the outlook of Russians?

3. Why did the "shock therapy" program of economic reform encounter strong resistance?

4. Why do many Russians favor a return to the old Soviet economic system?

5. Why are Ukraine and Kazakstan at the top of Russia's foreign policy agenda?

6. How has the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) helped serve Russia's foreign policy goals in the near abroad?

7. What accounts for the change in Russia's relationship with the West since 1992?

First-Hand Accounts from the New Russia

Part I

Instructions: Below are four excerpts from *The 'Children of Perestroika' Come of Age** — a book in which recent high school graduates in Moscow discuss their lives in the new Russia. As you read the excerpts, consider how each speaker views the changes in Russia described in Part II of the background reading.

1. Tanya

"This winter we went for four months without getting paid any money at all! They just didn't pay salaries. Of course we didn't go hungry during the winter, we just didn't have any money. We ate what we already had — the meat we had in the freezer. We ate macaroni, even though we're used to potatoes, but they are too expensive. We didn't have the money....Nobody wants to work, they all want to go into commerce. After all, everybody is sick and tired of hearing what they've been promising us. Even those who are still working, they also get promised that "we'll pay you for what you do." But they don't get paid! That's why it seems to me that doing manual labor now is really bad, especially for those who work in industry. The only good thing now is that they've allowed people to start their own joint enterprises and get stockholders. Those people work and get their money. But for those who work at a government enterprise — as a teacher I'm in that position, I depend entirely on government money — our work doesn't pay for itself because we don't produce anything. That's why whatever the government is able to pay us, that's what they pay us. But what about when they don't want to anymore, or can't?"

2. Olya

"I don't want to study anymore. Absolutely not. Why should I continue studying? Let's suppose that I went to an institute or to a technical school, where am I going to work after that? In production again? Work for the government? Why did I need to do that? Of course not! Study? Definitely not, not for anything. No. Who needs those studies nowadays? Who needs that diploma? Nobody! Right now people are working without having a diploma, making money. The most important thing now is making money, and that diploma is just a piece of paper. Maybe a diploma can help you get a good job some place, but only in rare cases. For the most part, the average person doesn't find work in the same field that he prepared for. And that's that. Right now at work, the girls I work with, practically all of them have a higher education. One trained as a lawyer, another one has a degree in mechanical engineering. A third has some kind of higher education in computers. All of them have a higher education, except for me! And there we are, working together, doing the same work, getting the same salary!"

3. Ilya

"I have two more years at the university. I'm studying Russian literature, 19th century. I went into the university with the idea that I wanted to get an education. I didn't know what I would do with it afterward. Of course, I would like to go on to work in the field I'm studying now at the university, but I am not at all certain that will be possible. It used to be that if a person got into the university, it was just assumed he'd go on and on, keep going in the same direction. But not now. It's not in the least bit clear what I will end up doing, concretely, later on. Maybe I'll work as a journalist, maybe I'll be able to continue at the university....Schools in general aren't sinking to a very low level, they were always that way! But there are some very good schools developing now, with very original curricula. Of course, you can count the number of those on your fingers....The schoolchildren are changing too. You can hear them. One says, 'I'm Rambo.' Another one says, 'I'm the Terminator,' 'I'm a robot!' I can even see that the sixteen-year-olds in my old school are different from the way we were."

*Excerpts from *The "Children of Perestroika" Come of Age: Young People of Moscow Talk about Life in the New Russia*. Copyright © 1994 by Deborah Adelman. Published by M.E. Sharpe.

4. Lena

"My parents got a good education. When she was my age my mother studied German for four years at the Institute of Foreign Languages, and now she's fifty years old and she still knows German really well. And I wasted six years learning English in school and I can't say anything more than 'My name is Lena'! This is going to be a problem, when our whole generation grows up uneducated. I can see this in journalism. Of the people who are studying in the same year as I am, some are working in television, some in radio, because they have already been set up, had help from their parents or somebody. And they have such a youthful pride that they work in television, that they don't really need to get an education, they already know everything, know how to do everything. And this is already evident in television programs. There are young people on the shows who don't know how to carry themselves. They need to learn this, too! If a person is educated, you can see that in the way that he conducts an interview. And if a correspondent isn't educated, doesn't know what he's doing, then even an interview with an interesting person doesn't work out, because the journalist doesn't know what to ask or how to communicate."

Part II

Instructions: Below are excerpts from the "job offered" section of the classified ads of *The St. Petersburg Press*, an English-language newspaper in Russia's second-largest city. As you will see, most of the employment opportunities are in international business — a field that most Russian youth view as exciting and prestigious. As you read the want ads, consider how the skills, goals, and attitudes of Tanya, Olya, Ilya, and Lena fit the jobs offered below.

- Sales representatives sought for Russian/American joint venture. Native Russian, some English, energetic, hard-working, ambitious. Provides: good salary, exciting work, career growth and development.

- Two employees for sales and administrative positions in the hotel service and tourist industry sought. Must be energetic, age 24-34 (preferably female), organized, communicative, full of ideas, people and service oriented, must have excellent English both spoken and written (i.e., typing), computer (Windows) skills, and a higher education.

- Personal secretary/interpreter needed for American entrepreneur for long-term commitment. Must be highly proficient in the English language. Prefer young, single, attractive Russian native. Must have interpretation, translation, and basic computer skills. Knowledge of the forestry industry a plus but not necessary. Occasional travel to Moscow. "I believe in paying what a person is worth, so salary is negotiable." Recent graduates of Philology will be considered.

- Export production coordinator — fashion company. American/Russian joint venture seeks English-speaking young man/woman to coordinate, control, and schedule production (in Russia) of apparel and fabrics for export. Must be thoroughly detail-oriented, organized, self-starter, and energetic. Fashion design, pattern-making, production background and/or education is preferable. Good opportunity for the right person within our fast-growing company. Starting salary based on background and experience.

- Salesman for ScanRuss Auta — a wholesaler for spare parts and accessories for cars and trucks. Call if you enjoy selling, are familiar with these kinds of products, like to work in a team, are conscientious, can speak English. We also need a Bookkeeper. Call if you have a good theoretical education in economics, are familiar with computerized accounting, have necessary experience, are conscientious, can speak English.

Exploring the Three Futures: Organization and Preparation

Objectives:

Students will:

- Analyze the issues that frame the debate on the direction of Russia's reform.
- Identify the core underlying values of the Futures.
- Integrate the arguments and beliefs of the Futures and the background reading into a persuasive, coherent presentation.
- Weigh the ramifications of the Futures from a Russian perspective.
- Work cooperatively within groups to organize effective presentations.

Handouts:

- "Presenting Your Future" (page 11) for the Future groups.
- "Expressing Key Values" (page 12) for the Future groups.
- "Speaking for the Russian Electorate" (page 13-14) for the voter groups.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage — In order to save time in the classroom, form student groups before beginning Day Three. During the class period of Day Three, students will be preparing for the Day Four role play. Remind them to incorporate the background reading into the development of their presentations and questions.

2a. Future Groups — Form three groups of four students. Assign a Future to each group. Distribute "Presenting Your Future" to the three Future groups. Inform students that each Future group will be called upon in Day Four to present the case for its assigned Future to a group of Russian voters. Explain that Future groups should follow the instructions in "Presenting Your Future." Note that the Future groups should begin by assigning each member a role.

2b. Voter Groups — To provide the remainder of the class into each group, distribute "Speaking for the Russian Electorate" to each group. Assign each of the voter groups one of the following roles. (In smaller classes, groups may be assigned to more than one role.)

a. Yuri Popov — Factory worker
b. Alexander Medvedev — Businessman
c. Olga Bezrukhova — Farm worker
d. Anna Morozova — Diamond mine director
e. Galina Markova — Retired pensioner
f. Dmitri Krepkin — Soldier

While the Future groups are preparing their presentations, members of the voter groups should develop questions to be directed to the Future groups on Day Four. Each voter group should prepare at least five questions for each of the Futures. (See "Speaking for the Russian Electorate.") Remind voter groups that they are expected to turn in their questions at the end of the simulation.

Extra Challenge:

Ask the Future groups to design a campaign poster illustrating the best case for their Futures. Likewise, voter groups may be asked to design a poster or political cartoon expressing their concerns.

Homework:

Students should complete preparations for the simulation.

Presenting Your Future

Preparing Your Presentation

Your Assignment: Your group is scheduled to appear before a gathering of Russian voters. Your assignment is to persuade the voters that your Future should serve as Russia's guiding philosophy in the coming years. (The next presidential election in Russia will be held in the year 2000.) You will be judged on how well you present your Future.

Organizing Your Group: Each member of your group will take a specific role. Below is a brief explanation of the responsibilities for each role.

1. *Spokesperson:* Your job is to explain the position of your group to the voters in a three-to-five minute presentation. In preparing your presentation, you will receive help from the other members of your group. You should include arguments from their areas of expertise. Keep in mind, though, that you are expected to take the lead in organizing your group. Read your Future and review the background reading to build a strong case for your Future. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

2. *Economic adviser:* Your job is to tell the spokesperson of your group why your Future is justified from an economic standpoint. You should draw on both history and current events to support your position. Read your Future, paying close attention to the paragraph on economic policy, and then review the sections of the background reading that deal with your area of expertise. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

3. *Political adviser:* Your job is to tell the spokesperson of your group why your Future is justified from the standpoint of Russia's political development. You should draw on both history and current events to support your position. Read your Future, paying close attention to the paragraph on political policy, and then review the sections of the background reading that deal with your area of expertise. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

4. *Foreign policy adviser:* Your job is to tell the spokesperson of your group why your Future is justified from a foreign policy standpoint. You should draw on both history and current events to support your position. Read your Future, paying close attention to the paragraph on foreign policy, and then review the sections of the background reading that deal with your area of expertise. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

Making Your Case

After your preparations are complete, your spokesperson will deliver a three-to-five minute presentation to the gathering of Russian voters. The "Expressing Key Values" worksheet and other notes may be used, but the spokesperson should speak clearly and convincingly. During the presentation, you should try to identify the weak points of the other Futures. After all of the groups have presented their Futures, the voters will ask you questions. Any member of your group may respond during the question-and-answer period.

Name:

Expressing Key Values

The notion of values lies at the core of this unit. Each of the three Futures in this unit revolves around a distinct set of values The opening two paragraphs of your Future are devoted to making a convincing case for the values that are represented. The term "values," however, is not easy to define. Most often, we think of values in connection with our personal lives. Our attitudes toward our families, friends, and communities are a reflection of our personal values.

Values play a critical role in political decisions as well. In the United States, our country's political system and foreign policy have been shaped by a wide range of values. The high value many Americans place on freedom, democracy, and individual liberty rings loudly throughout U.S. history. In the 20th century especially, government policy has often promoted the values of stability, security, cooperation, and equal opportunity. Some values fit together well. Others are in conflict. Americans are constantly being forced to choose among competing values in our ongoing debate about public policy.

In today's time of upheaval, the people of Russia face similar challenges. Russians share many of the same values we espouse. Other fundamental Russian values, such as submission to authority and promotion of economic equality, are less commonly held by Americans. Your job is to identify and explain the most important values of your Future. These values should be clearly expressed by every member of your group. This worksheet will help you organize your thoughts.

1. What are the two most important values underlying your Future?

   A.

   B.

2. According to the values of your Future, what should be Russia's role in the world?

3. Why should the values of your Future be the guiding force for setting Russia's course?

Speaking for the Russian Electorate

Understanding Your Role: Your group has been called upon to express the concerns of a Russian voter. You will take part in a forum for Russian presidential candidates. (The next presidential election in Russia will be held in the year 2000.) You will hear about three distinct political philosophies, or Futures, for Russia in the coming years. You are expected to evaluate each of the Futures from the perspective of the character your group has been designated to represent. Your group will be assigned one of the following roles.

1. Yuri Popov — Factory worker

You work in a large electronics factory in western Siberia. Your factory has suffered a sharp drop in orders in recent years, due mostly to cuts in military spending. Meanwhile, the consumer products your factory produces lack the quality of imports from East Asia and the West. Although the managers of your factory became the owners under privatization, there has been no investment in new technology. Instead, hundreds of your co-workers have been let go. In the meantime, your wages have not kept pace with inflation. Last year, you were not paid at all for three months. You are unable to buy little more than bread, potatoes, and cabbage for your family. At 52 years old and possessing few skills, your chances are poor of finding another job if you are laid off.

Your View: "What's happening now in Russia isn't reform. It's chaos. Russia has gone from being a powerful country that the world respected to being a beggar. I hold the so-called 'reformers' responsible for this. They've sold out the country to the Americans and the Western Europeans. If Russia is to get back on track, we have to remember what made us a strong country in the first place. Factories like the one I work in are the flesh and blood of our nation. They can't be allowed to close down."

2. Alexander Medvedev — Businessman

Since the collapse of communism you have become involved in trade with Western Europe. You have been selling Russian artwork and handicrafts. The nature of your work requires you to share your profits with organized crime, an arrangement that you accept as one of the costs of doing business. Particularly successful 25 years old, your income is already three times as much as that of your parents, who are both engineers. Your business, which is based in Moscow, has allowed you to travel in Western Europe and buy Western goods that the great majority of Russians cannot afford. You have conveniently forgotten how limited our lives were back then. There was no opportunity for someone to advance using his or her own talents. Learning about the world outside of the Soviet bloc was a struggle. Traveling to Western Europe was almost out of the question. Now, at last we have a chance to succeed. Of course, life is tough for many of my relatives and neighbors, but in time things will improve. Regardless, there's no turning back. There's no place like the Soviet system in today's world."

3. Olga Bezrukhova — Farm worker

You work on a large state-run wheat farm in southern Russia, not far from the Black Sea. Life on the farm has always been difficult, but in recent years conditions have worsened. Spare parts for broken farm equipment and storage facilities seldom arrive. Each year, your farm loses a big share of its grain to rot and mice. At 51 years old, you are lucky to at least have a two-acre plot of your own to grow vegetables and raise chickens for your family. You are also able to sell the surplus in a nearby city.

Your View: "I don't claim to be an expert on politics. I only know what I see personally, and what I see tells me that Russia needs to put its house in order. Our state-run farm has always been poorly run. Now it's worse than ever. The wheat harvest in 1996 iss the lowest in thirty years. The politicians in Moscow can't be bothered with the people in the countryside. They're too busy filling their pockets with bribes. But in the end, Russia needs us. How can Russia survive without wheat? The politicians have to give our farm the supplies and equipment we need. I also want to farm more land on my own. I'm not afraid to work hard if I know that I'll be allowed to sell my crops and keep the profits."

4. Anna Morozova — Diamond mine director

You are the director of a diamond mine in the region of Yakutia in eastern Siberia. Your mine is located in an area that contains one of Russia's richest deposits of diamonds. You have been approached by several Western investors hoping to enter into a partnership with your enterprise. They have pledged to provide your mine with new technology that could double production. The authorities in Moscow, however, have so far refused to accept the foreign proposals or grant you greater decision-making power. At 45 years old, you earn a good salary compared to most Russians, but you are poorly paid by international standards.

Your View: "As far as I'm concerned, reform in Russia needs to go forward, not backward. Our mine has an opportunity to turn around the economy of a good portion of Yakutja. The main force holding us back is the old-line bureaucracy in Moscow. The bureaucrats will do anything to hang onto their power and privileges. They have made sure that the government owns the biggest share of our enterprise. I don't mind Moscow's involvement, but I do resent the government's attitude toward managing the mine. Instead of allowing us to get new technology from abroad, the bureaucrats have scared away foreign investors with absurd regulations and high taxes. Before Russia can get ahead, we have to break the hold of bureaucrats over the economy."

5. Galina Markova — Retired pensioner

You are a 74-year-old widow living off a government pension in northern Russia. During your working years, you and your husband were employed at a textile factory and earned below-average salaries. Like almost all Russians at the time, you saved only a few hundred rubles for emergencies and expected the government to provide for you during your retirement. Now that the Soviet system has collapsed, many of your old assumptions are no longer valid. The purchasing power of your pension has shrunk over recent years to the point that today you can afford little more than bread and tea. With no children and your husband deceased, you may have no choice but to turn to your sister's family for help.

Your View: "I've never asked much from life, but I expected that I would at least be able to live out my final years in peace and comfort. Now everything has fallen to pieces. I worked for almost fifty years and what do I have to show for it? I can't even afford sugar for my tea. It's not right. Meanwhile, these mafia thugs have new cars and more money than they know what to do with. Everyday they're killing each other, as well as innocent people. They want me to sell my apartment to them so they can resell it for a profit. I told them that they'll have to kill me first. What a country we live in. I don't understand politics. All I know is that these changes have gone too far."

6. Dmitri Krepkin — Soldier

You are a 23-year-old tank commander in the Russian army who until recently was serving in Estonia. In December 1994, you were sent to fight in Chechnya. You lost many of your friends in battle, especially during the disastrous first days of the assault on Grozny. You, yourself, have returned to Russia after being wounded in the leg. You are now stationed in the town of Tambov, where you are waiting to be assigned to a new unit. Because housing is scarce in the town where you are stationed, you, your wife, and your baby daughter are forced to share a one-bedroom apartment with another soldier and his family. If the war in Chechnya reignites, you will probably be sent into combat again.

Your View: "Like most young people, I welcomed the changes that began with perestroika and glasnost. I thought that our everyday lives would be better and that we'd have a chance to see the world. I guess we were naive. Look what's happened to the army. In Chechnya, our troops were led into a slaughterhouse by stupid leaders. There was no organization, no planning. Our equipment was breaking down. This would have never happened during Soviet times. Can you imagine these Chechen bandits challenging the power of the Red Army? Never! Something has to be done to restore our country's discipline and self-respect."

Your Assignment: Your group should prepare at least five questions for each Future from the perspective of your assigned character. The questions should reflect the values, concerns, and interests of your assigned role. For example, an appropriate question about Future 1 from Yuri Popov would be: *Where would the investment and resources for our factory come from in the economic system that you propose?* On Day Four, you will have an opportunity to address some of your questions to the Future groups. At the end of the activity, you will be expected to turn in your questions.

Exploring the Three Futures: Debate and Discussion

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate the leading values influencing Russia's future.
- Explore, debate, and evaluate multiple perspectives on Russia's future.
- Sharpen rhetorical skills through debate and discussion.
- Cooperate with classmates in staging a persuasive presentation.

Handouts:

- "Evaluation Form" (page 16) for the voter groups.

In the Classroom:

1. Setting the Stage — Organize the room so that the Future groups face the voter groups.

2. Managing the Simulation — Explain that the simulation will begin with three-to-five minute presentations by the spokespersons for the Future groups. Encourage the spokespersons to speak clearly and convincingly.

3. Guiding Discussion — Following the presentations, invite members of the voter groups to ask questions. Make sure that the questions are equally distributed among all three Future groups. If time permits, encourage members of the Future groups to challenge the positions of other groups. During cross-examination, allow any Future group member to respond. (As an alternative approach, permit questions after each Future is presented.)

Suggestions:

To increase participation in the simulation, instruct students to record the most persuasive arguments presented by the Future groups.

Homework:

Students should read each of the three Futures (pages 23-28 in the student text), then moving beyond these Futures they should fill out "Focusing Your Thoughts."

Name:

Evaluation Form
Russian Voters

Instructions: Answer the questions below from the perspective of your assigned role.

1. According to each Future, what principles should guide Russia's economic policy?

Future 1:

Future 2:

Future 3:

2. According to each Future, what principles should guide the development of Russia's political system?

Future 1:

Future 2:

Future 3:

3. According to each Future, what principles should guide Russia's foreign policy?

Future 1:

Future 2:

Future 3:

4. How would you be affected by the proposed course of action of each Future?

Future 1:

Future 2:

Future 3:

5. Which of the three Futures would you support most strongly? Explain your reasoning.

Charting Russia's Future

Objectives:

Students will:

- Articulate a coherent political program for Russia based on personally held values and historical understanding.
- Compare and contrast values and assumptions with classmates.
- Organize individual views into an effective persuasive essay.
- Offer reasoned arguments to support policy recommendations.

Required Reading:

Students should have read the three Futures and completed "Focusing Your Thoughts."

Handouts:

- "Dorogiye Gospada" (page 19).
- "An Insight into Russian Politics" (page 20).

In the Classroom:

1. Analyzing Beliefs — Review the beliefs in "Focusing Your Thoughts," noting the relationship between the beliefs and the Futures.

2. Introducing "Dorogiye Gospada" — Distribute "Dorogiye Gospada" (Dear Ladies and Gentlemen). Emphasize that the assignment in "Dorogiye Gospada" calls on students to imagine that they are appealing to Russian voters to support their program. The writing should be in the style of a campaign speech — persuasive and inspiring. Instruct students to use "Focusing Your Thoughts" as the basis for answering the questions of "Dorogiye Gospada," persuasive and inspiring. Instruct students to use "Focusing Your Thoughts" as the basis for answering the questions of "Dorogiye Gospada."

3. Sharing Ideas — As students begin formulating their ideas for "Dorogiye Gospada," ask them to share their thoughts with the class. Which beliefs do students find most appealing? Which lessons from history seem most relevant? Ask students to consider their recommendations from the perspective of the two opposing Russian voter groups identified in the Introduction. How well do the values and beliefs underlying their recommendations appeal to each of these groups? What do the scholars emphasize as the major divisions among the Russian electorate? What factors account for the appeal of communists and hard-line nationalists?

4. Report Cards — Distribute "An Insight into Russian Politics." Review the campaign speeches and opinion survey results with the class. Ask students to compare their own ideas for Russia's future with those of Yeltsin and Zyuganov. What do the opinion survey results suggest about the attitudes of the Russian electorate? How closely do the concerns of Russia's political elite match those of Russia's voters? How do the concerns of the Russian electorate compare to the concerns resonating with American voters?

Homework:

Students should complete "Dorogiye Gospada."

Name:

Focusing Your Thoughts

Instructions: You have had an opportunity to consider three Futures for Russia. Now it is your turn to look at each of the Futures from your own perspective. Try each one on for size. Think about how the Futures address the concerns and hopes of the Russian people. You will find that each has its own risks and trade-offs, advantages and disadvantages.

Ranking the Futures

Which of the Futures below do you prefer? Rank the Futures, with "1" being the best Future for Russia to follow.

___ **Future 1: Strength in Unity**

___ **Future 2: Proceed with Caution**

___ **Future 3: Look Outward**

Beliefs

Considering the statements below will help you complete the worksheet "Dorogiye Gospada." Rate each of the statements according to your personal beliefs:

1 = Strongly Support
2 = Support
3 = Oppose
4 = Strongly Oppose
5 = Undecided

___ Russia and the countries of the West share a common set of goals and interests.

___ There will always be countries eager to take advantage of Russia's weaknesses.

___ Rapid change inevitably leads to problems.

___ The government's emphasis on military power has historically harmed the Russian people.

___ The political and economic systems of the West are destined to sweep over the entire world.

___ Russia can advance only if political passions are put aside.

___ Social stability and economic security are more important than individual freedom.

___ Without a strong state, Russia would have long ago been crushed by invaders.

___ Unity with other Slavic peoples is vital for Russia's security and prosperity.

Creating Your Own Future

Your next challenge is to create a Future that reflects your own beliefs and opinions. You may borrow heavily from one Future, or you may combine ideas from two or three Futures. Or you may take a new approach altogether. There are, of course, no perfect solutions. And there is no right or wrong answer. Rather, you should strive to craft a Future that is logical and persuasive. Be careful of contradictions. For example, you should not encourage foreign investment from the United States and Western Europe if you believe that Russia's long-term interests are in conflict with those of the West.

"Dorogiye Gospada" (Dear Ladies and Gentlemen)

Instructions: In the year 2000, Russian voters are scheduled to again go the polls to choose a president. In this exercise, you will outline a campaign speech based on your own ideas for Russia's future. Your responses to "Focusing Your Thoughts" should help you identify the guiding principles of your speech.

1. Write an introduction to your campaign speech that expresses the basic principles of your political philosophy for Russia.

2. Explain your proposals for Russia's economic development.

3. Explain your proposals for Russia's political system.

4. Explain your proposals for Russia's foreign policy.

5. In conclusion, explain how Russia will change over the next ten years if your proposals are adopted.

An Insight into Russian Politics

Below are excerpts (reprinted from *The New York Times*) from the final 1996 presidential campaign speeches of President Boris Yeltsin and Communist Party candidate Gennady Zyuganov. At the bottom of the page are results from an option survey of Russian voters conducted in June 1996.

Boris Yeltsin

Citizens of Russia — on July 3 [1996] the last and decisive round of presidential elections takes place. On this day you will vote not just for Yeltsin or Zyuganov, but you will vote for yourself, for your family, for the future of your children.

Some of the voters don't believe that anything depends on their vote. This is wrong. Today, every vote counts. You vote either for it or against it, there is no third way.

Nothing that is new comes the easy way, and that is why I am aware of your doubts. Those who on June 16 [1996] voted for the communists cast their ballots not for any return to the past, but against the difficulties of the new life. I understand these people. A great deal in our life hurts me and pains my heart as well. I realize how difficult life is today. But if on July 3 our grievance and fatigue vote instead of us, there is no trouble ahead.

Let us not base our vote for ourselves' sake, for the sake of our children, for the sake of Russia's future. On June 16, most of you voted for a new and normal life, and we fairly said that the time had come to end the split of the country into the Reds [communists] and the Whites [anti-communists], let us stop rushing from one direction to another. Freedom, order, and care for the people are the foundations of a happy and prosperous life. I am confident that the correct course has been chosen.

Dear voters, I ask each of you to put off your daily business on July 3. Go to the polls, cast your ballots for the new Russia. It is only together that we will win.

Gennady Zyuganov

Let me only remind you that when he [Yeltsin] ran last time he said that we would live in a prosperous Russia in a single, united state. Now you can see our unity. He said that teachers and the public education system would be the first to get assistance. Today, teachers are going on vacations without having been paid a single kopeck.

He said that he would help the villages and that 15 percent of the national wealth would be allocated to rural areas. But today villages are dying out.

His election strategy is built on fears and lies. You are being intimidated from morning till night with the threat that a horrible Zyuganov will come and take everything away from you. They were saying that Zyuganov was turning back, but they themselves gave birth to the gangsterism, crime, and homeless children.

As to taking away, I perfectly realize that tomorrow confiscations or a new redistribution process begins, the day after tomorrow the entire country would be blazing like Chechnya. Redistribution process be... We set quite different tasks. Our main argument with Mr. Yeltsin is that we are for an original, strong, respectable dignified Russia — a Russia that would be looked upon with respect by the entire world. And he is for turning it into a beggar sitting on the dressing room of the Big Seven [Group of Seven] ... taking ...

Our main task is to start up production and to increase the purchasing power of all citizens, taking special care of the children, women, the old, of all who could work honestly applying their talents ... mighty ...

Your vote will not be a choice between Zyuganov and Yeltsin. You will be voting for a strong and mighty Russia or a colonial administration.

Opinion Survey Results — June 1996

Who should own big industrial enterprises?

The state	58%	The workers	26%
Private owners	12%		

How do you feel about the United States?

It is an ally	34%	It is neutral	37%
It is a foe	24%		

What should be done about Chechnya?

Grant complete independence	35%
Fight to keep Russian control	20%
Share power	41%

What is the main issue determining your vote?

Govt. payment of pensions and salaries			35%
The economy	25%	Chechnya	20%
Crime	13%	Foreign policy	2%

Alternative Three-Day Lesson Plan

Day 1: See Day One of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan. (Students should have read Part I of the background reading and completed "Study Guide — Part I" before beginning the unit.)
Homework: Students should read Part II of the background reading and complete "Study Guide — Part II."

Day 2: Assign each student one of the three Futures, and allow a few minutes for students to familiarize themselves with the mindsets of the Futures. Call on students to evaluate the benefits and trade-offs of their assigned Futures. How do the Futures differ in their overall philosophies? Ask students to respond to a current issue, such as the plight of Russian factory workers, the conflict in Chechnya, or international involvement in Bosnia from the perspective of their assigned Futures. Moving beyond the Futures, ask students to imagine they are Russian voters. Which beliefs should guide Russia's economic policy and political development? Which international concerns should rank at the top of the Russian foreign policy agenda?
Homework: Students should complete "Focusing Your Thoughts."

Day 3: See Day Five of the Suggested Five-Day Lesson Plan.

Making Choices Work in Your Classroom

Like the art of cooking, cooperative group learning is a skill that is rarely perfected on the first attempt, either by teachers or students. Yet with careful preparation, guidance, and practice significant gains can be made quickly. No single recipe guarantees success with cooperative learning or the Choices approach in every classroom. That would be impossible, since each classroom differs in its organization and size, and its unique collection of personalities and needs. However, this section of the Teacher's Resource Book offers a variety of ingredients for teachers to use as they adapt Choices curricula to their classrooms. The suggested ingredients that follow have been drawn from educational research on student-centered instruction and, more important, from the experiences of teachers who have used Choices curricula successfully in their classrooms over the past six years. Educators who have questions about using Choices curricula in their classrooms are encouraged to contact the Choices Education Project in writing, or by calling (401)863-3155. The Choices staff includes experienced classroom teachers who will be pleased to speak with you.

Designing Cooperative Learning Groups

Group Size: The key to successful cooperative group work is having a group assignment that is complex enough to require the participation of all group members. Planning the size and composition of working groups in advance is crucial to the successful use of Choices curricula. Research indicates that the ideal size for a cooperative learning group is four or five students. This is certainly the ideal size for group assignments in Choices units. When using Choices units in larger classes, the size of option groups may be expanded to six or seven students. However, it is important to keep in mind that whenever the number of students in a group is increased, the number of roles and expected outcomes must also be expanded.

Group Composition: A strength of cooperative learning is that it creates opportunities for students to work together in new combinations on challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the [illegible] and critical thinking, but that interpersonal skills be [illegible] students to negotiate their roles and responsibilities in challenging tasks. Cooperative learning not only requires the academic skills of reading, writing, and critical thinking, but the interpersonal skills of communication, negotiation, and problem solving. In these cases, this state of [illegible] and learning is most effective when students are assigned to groups by the teacher rather than being allowed to work with their friends. While random group selection can be effective, in most classes successful group composition requires that the teacher consider the personalities, strengths, and needs of the students. [illegible] ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal Groups comprised of students with diverse strengths, talents, and needs are ideal. For example, artistic students might be assigned to different groups to share their talents and perspectives, while less verbal students could be placed in groups with more outgoing students to help draw them into the lesson. Whenever possible, teachers should try to prevent one student from dominating a group. Explaining the instructions, roles, and ground rules for cooperative learning (see below) helps prevent this. Teachers may choose to group aggressive students with each other, leaving room in other groups for less assertive students to emerge as leaders. Finally, even though the negotiation of roles among the students in a group can be a valuable part of the cooperative learning experience, teachers might choose to assign certain roles, such as group spokesperson, in order to encourage leadership from more reticent students and to keep more aggressive students from dominating.

Students may initially complain about being assigned to groups that do not include their closest friends. We have found that, at the conclusion of the assignment, they will usually express satisfaction with their assigned partners, recognize that they got more accomplished, and sometimes even acknowledge the start of new friendships. The additional time involved in planning group size and composition will pay off when students are actively engaged, debating, and thinking critically.

Preparing Students for Cooperative Learning

Provide Clear Written Instructions: As with any assignment, students benefit from instructions and guidelines that clearly outline expectations and how they will be accomplished. These should be given to students in writing and reviewed with the class. Afterwards, as questions arise within groups, students should refer to the written instructions and attempt to answer each other's questions before asking for the teacher's assistance.

Establish Ground Rules: Especially when cooperative learning is a new experience, students benefit from the establishment of ground rules that are explained before groups are formed. Ground rules must be kept simple, and should be designed to keep students involved and on task. Posting these rules in a prominent place in the classroom can be very effective. An example of simple but effective ground rules for the cooperative group assignments could be:

Everybody has a role (or a job)
Everybody participates
Everybody has a say (or a vote)
Nobody dominates
Nobody interrupts

These rules can be enforced by appointing one student to serve as the group manager. The teacher can make it clear that one of the group manager's responsibilities is to enforce the ground rules as the group explores its assigned option and prepares its presentation. The group manager might also be required to make sure that members of the group stay on task and attempt to solve problems before asking for the teacher's assistance. Ground rules that are clear and used consistently can, over time, become an integral component of the classroom's tradition of learning and keeping students on task.

Managing the Choices Simulation

Managing the Choices Simulation

Recognize Time Limitations: At the heart of the Choices approach is the role-play simulation in which students advocate different options, question each other, and debate. Just as thoughtful preparation is necessary to set the stage for cooperative group learning, careful planning for the presentations and debate can increase the effectiveness of the simulation. Time is the essential ingredient to keep in mind. A minimum of 45 to 50 minutes is necessary for the presentations and debate. Hence, if only one class period is available, student groups must be ready as soon as class begins. Teachers who have been able to schedule a double period or extend the length of class to one hour report that the extra time is beneficial. When necessary, the role-play simulation can be run over two days, but this disrupts the momentum of the debate. The best strategy for managing the role-play is to establish and enforce strict time limits, such as five minutes for each option presentation, ten minutes for questions and challenges, and the final five minutes of class for wrapping up the debate. It is crucial to make students aware of strict time limits as they prepare their presentations.

Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

Highlight the Importance of Values: During the debate and debriefing, it is important to highlight the role of values in the options. Students should be instructed to identify the core values and priorities underlying the different options.

Moving Beyond the Options

As a culminating activity of a Choices unit, students are expected to articulate their own views of the issue under consideration. An effective way to move beyond the options debate to creating individual options is to have students consider which values in the options framework they hold most dear. Typically, students will hold several of these values simultaneously and will need to prioritize them to reach a considered judgment about the issue at hand. These values should be reflected in their own options and should shape the goals and policies they advocate.

Adjusting for Large and Small Classes

Choices units are designed for an average class of twenty-five students. In larger classes, additional roles, such as those of newspaper reporter or member of a special interest group, can be assigned to increase student participation in the simulation. With larger option groups, additional tasks might be to create a poster, political cartoon, or public service announcement that represents the viewpoint of an option. In smaller classes, the teacher can serve as the moderator of the debate, and administrators, parents, or faculty can be invited to play the roles of congressional leaders. Another alternative is to combine two small classes.

Applying Choices to Ability-Grouped Classes

Choices curricula are developed with the majority of high school students in mind. Choices units are not designed solely for students in honors or advanced placement programs. Nor are they designed specifically for students in remedial classes. However, the units are designed to be flexible enough for high school teachers to adapt for *any* classroom, and they have been used successfully in all kinds of classes. The Choices staff places confidence in the ability of teachers to decide which units are best suited for the courses and students they teach. The following suggestions may assist teachers of higher- and lower-ability classes in adapting Choices curricula to meet the needs of their students.

Lower-Ability Classes: It would be a mistake to believe that the Choices approach is too difficult for students in lower-ability classes. Teachers report that, with certain adaptations, Choices units can motivate higher levels of student participation, thinking, and confidence in lower-ability classes. Feedback from classroom teachers indicates that the following strategies lead to success with Choices in these classes:

- Maintain high expectations for student learning and thinking.
- Classes of all abilities do a better job with Choices the second or third time the approach is used. Skills in collaboration, communication, and critical thinking improve with practice.
- Some units are easier than others because the necessary background is particularly accessible. Use one of these first to give the students some experience with the approach.
- To make background readings more manageable, some teachers have students read aloud in class, stopping to discuss or clarify key points. Other teachers substitute shorter readings from the textbook or another source as background reading.
- Key concepts from the background can be explained in a mini-lecture format.
- Students can review and keep track of the important terms in a unit by creating their own glossary for reference throughout the unit.
- An extra day for review of the background, for group preparation, or for the development of individual options can be very worthwhile.

Higher-Ability Classes: Choices units have much to offer students in higher-ability and advanced placement classes. Students are challenged to understand the internal logic of different arguments and to extrapolate from these while playing the role of advocate. Two-week Choices units are especially rich in historical background, and they highlight the complex relationships among nations through many eras. Choices units on historical topics typically include a wealth of primary source documents for students to read and analyze. These documents can help to prepare students in advanced placement classes for the "Document Based Questions" included on advanced placement examinations. Extra challenge assignments are included in many lesson plans, and every Choices unit includes suggestions for additional reading and research.

Assessing Student Achievement

Grading Group Assignments: Research suggests that it is counterproductive to give students individual grades on cooperative group assignments. A significant part of the assignment given to the group is to cooperate in achieving a common goal, as opposed to looking out for individual interests. Telling students in advance that the group will receive one grade often motivates group members to hold each other accountable. This can foster group cohesion and lead to better group results. It may be useful to note that in addition to the cooperative group assignments, students complete individual assignments as well in every Choices unit.

Requiring Self-Evaluation: Having students complete self-evaluations is an extremely effective way to make them think about their own learning. Self-evaluations can take many forms and are useful in a variety of circumstances. They are particularly helpful in getting students to think constructively about group collaboration. In developing a self-evaluation tool for students, teachers need to pose clear and direct questions to students. A sample Group Project Self-Evaluation is included on the following page. Each student should complete his/her own evaluation as part of the unit. Two key benefits of student self-evaluation are that it involves students in the assessment process, and that it provides teachers with valuable insights into the contributions of individual students and the dynamics of different groups. These insights can help teachers to organize groups for future cooperative assignments.

Evaluating Student Options: The most important outcomes of a Choices unit are the original options developed and articulated by each student. These will differ significantly from one another, as students identify different values and priorities that shape their viewpoints. These options cannot be graded as right or wrong, but should be evaluated on clarity of expression, logic, and thoroughness. Did the student provide reasons for his/her viewpoint along with supporting evidence? Were the values clear and consistent throughout the option? Did the student identify the risks involved? Did the student present his/her option in a convincing manner?

Testing: In a formal evaluation of the Choices approach, it was demonstrated that students using Choices learned the factual information presented as well as or better than students who were taught in a more traditional lecture-discussion format. However, the larger benefits of the Choices approach were evident when students using Choices demonstrated significantly higher ability to think critically, analyze multiple perspectives, and articulate original viewpoints, compared to students who did not use this approach. Teachers should hold students accountable for learning historical information, concepts, and current events presented in Choices units. However, a simple multiple-choice examination will not allow students to demonstrate the critical thinking and communication skills developed through the Choices unit. If teachers choose to test students, they may wish to explore new models of test design that require students to do more than recognize correct answers. Tests should not replace the development of student options.

For Further Reading: Cohen, Elizabeth G. *Designing Groupwork: Strategies for the Heterogeneous Classroom* (New York: Teachers College Press, 1986).

Name:

Group Project Self-Evaluation

1. What did you contribute to this project?

2. List the names of your partners and briefly comment on each person's contributions.

3. What things went well within your group?

4. What problems did you encounter? How did you attempt to resolve these problems?

5. If you had this assignment to do over again, with the same partners, what would you do differently?

6. Overall, what grade do you think your group deserves on this assignment? Explain your response.

Publications List

The Choices for the 21st Century Education Project develops curricula for high schools and colleges on current foreign policy issues and offers workshops, institutes, and in-service programs for high school teachers. Course materials place special emphasis on the importance of educating students in their participatory role as citizens. All units incorporate the work of academics and policymakers from a range of perspectives and are classroom tested prior to publication. A new unit is published every three months during the academic year, and all units are updated regularly. For current information on new titles and revisions, call the Choices Education Project at (401) 863-3155 or visit the project on the World Wide Web at *http://www.brown.edu/Research/Choices/*.

Current Choices

- China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response (Revised Feb. 1996, 77 pages)
- Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role (Revised Oct. 1995, 69 pages)
- U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World (Revised April 1996, 63 pages)
- U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy (Revised March 1996, 56 pages)
- Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy (Revised March 1996, 60 pages)
- Help, Handout, or Hindrance: U.S. Support for the Developing World (June 1995, 66 pages)
- Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy (Revised July 1996, 71 pages)
- Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era (Revised Aug. 1996, 72 pages)
- Caught between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads (Sept. 1996, 62 pages)
- The Role of the United States in a Changing World (Revised Nov. 1995, 44 pages)

Decision Points in History

- A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government (August 1996, 138 pages)
- Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler (Nov. 1994, 84 pages)
- Ending the War against Japan: Science, Morality, and the Atomic Bomb (July 1995, 102 pages)
- Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II (Aug. 1994, second edition, 68 pages)
- In the Shadow of the Cold War: The Caribbean and Central America in U.S. Foreign Policy (Revised Sept. 1995, 111 pages)
- The Limits of Power: The United States in Vietnam (Nov. 1994, second edition, 119 pages)

ORDER FORM

Please send me the following material:	Price	Quantity	Subtotal
China on the World Stage: Weighing the U.S. Response	$12.00		
Keeping the Peace in an Age of Conflict: Debating the U.S. Role	$12.00		
U.S. Immigration Policy in an Unsettled World	$12.00		
U.S. Trade Policy: Competing in a Global Economy	$12.00		
Global Environmental Problems: Implications for U.S. Policy	$12.00		
Help, Handout, or Hindrance: U.S. Support for the Developing World	$12.00		
Russia's Uncertain Transition: Challenges for U.S. Policy	$12.00		
Charting Russia's Future in the Post-Soviet Era	$12.00		
Caught between Two Worlds: Mexico at the Crossroads	$12.00		
The Role of the United States in a Changing World	$12.00		
A More Perfect Union: Shaping American Government	$14.00		
Crisis, Conscience, and Choices: Weimar Germany and the Rise of Hitler	$12.00		
Ending the War against Japan: Science, Morality, and the Atomic Bomb	$12.00		
Coming to Terms with Power: U.S. Choices after World War II	$12.00		
In the Shadow of the Cold War: The Caribbean and Central America in U.S. Foreign Policy	$14.00		
The Limits of Power: The United States in Vietnam	$14.00		

A teacher's resource book is included free with each unit ordered at regular price.
Classroom sets of student texts (15 or more of the same unit) are available at $5 per copy.

Subtotal _____ _____
add 7% for shipping and handling _____

TOTAL _____ _____

Make checks payable to: **Brown University**

Return to: Choices Education Project
Watson Institute for International Studies
Brown University, Box 1948
Providence, RI 02912

Name _____
School/Org. _____
Street _____
City/State _____ Zip _____